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A STUDY IN ACCULTURATION AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT: THE MICRONESIAN CASE

The University of Oklahoma PH.D. 1980

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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

A STUDY IN ACCULTURATION AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT: THE MICRONESIAN CASE

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

RICHARD F. KANOST

Norman, Oklahoma

1980

A STUDY IN ACCULTURATION AND POLITICAL

DEVELOPMENT: THE MICRONESIAN CASE

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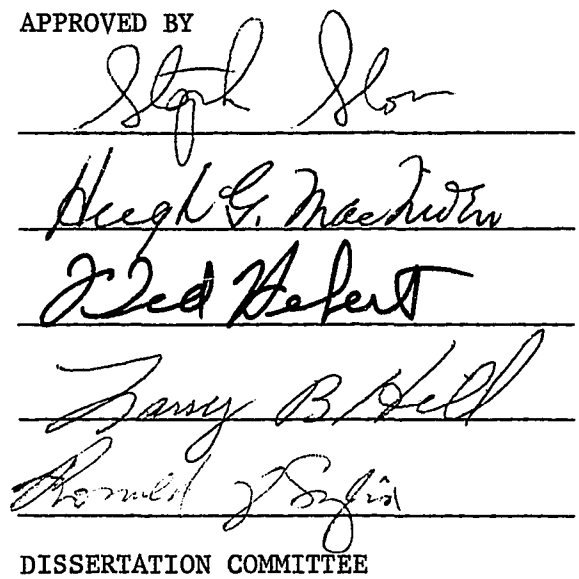

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

List of Figures v

List of Maps. vi

List of Tables. vii

Chapter

I. INTRODUCTION. 1

The Analysis of Political Culture
The Structure of Belief Systems
The Research Design

II.

PART I: THE PAN-MICRONESIAN CONTEXT

II. THE ISLANDS OF MICRONESIA 51

Locating Micronesia
The Islands
The Four Stages of Development

III. THE TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY SYSTEMS OF MICRONESIA 76

The Meaning of Traditional
Ecological Influences on Traditional Authority Systems
Micronesian Authority Systems: General Characteristics

IV. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN MICRONESIA 103

Political Development Before 1962
Political Development Since 1962

V. THE ECONOMIC DEPENDENCY OF MICRONESIA 130

The Money Economy
The Subsistence Economy
Impediments to Economic Development
The High Cost of Government

VI. THE ISSUES OF MICRONESIAN POLITICS. 156

Micronesian Politics: Sources and Opinion Makers
The American Performance in Micronesia
The Three Overriding Issues
Conclusion to part I

Chapter Page

PART II: THE POLITICAL CULTURES OF FOUR ISLAND GROUPS

VII. THE ISLANDS AND THE PEOPLE. 187

The Area Included
The Four Island Groups: An Economic Comparison

VIII. TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY SYSTEMS COMPARED. 218

The Family Authority System
Community Authority Structures
Socialization to Authority: The Micronesian Life Cycle

IX. POLITICAL FACTIONS: THEIR ORIGINS AND IMPACT 265

Party Politics in the Northern Mariana Islands
Competition in the Politics of Yap District
Factionalism in Truk

X. THE ELECTORAL PROCESS 301

Election Campaigns
Voter Participation
The Electoral System
The Explanation of Election Results

XI. COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS 354

The Structure of Government in 1977-78
The Political Process

XII. POLITICAL ATTITUDES 406

Results of the Survey
The Structure of Attitudes

XIII. CONCLUSION. 460

APPENDIX: POLITICAL ATTITUDE SURVEY. 471

BIBLIOGRAPHY. 480

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1.	Populations of Main Islands, Semideveloped Islands, Outer Islands and the Totals for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands for the Years 1954, 1966 and 1973, in Thousands	71
2.	A Diagram of Relationships Between the Micronesian Environment, Traditional Values, Authority System and Political Behavior	101
3.	A Comparison of Trends in Total Government Revenues and Expenditures, Exports and Employment in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, from 1954 to 1976	132
4.	Total Number of Government and Private Employees in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, from July 1968 to December 1976, in Thousands	136
5.	Micronesian Government and Private Sector Wages as Percentages of Total Wages Paid to Micronesians, from 1968 to 1976	137
6.	A Diagram of Relationships Between the Micronesian Environment, Traditional Values, Authority Systems, the Experience of Alien Administration, Imported Values and Political Behavior	186
7.	Percentage of the Total Vote Received by the Territorial Party in Elections to the Congress of Micronesia, District and Municipal Legislatures in the Selected Districts	337
8.	Percentage of the Total Vote Received by the Territorial Party in Elections to the Congress of Micronesia, District and Municipal Legislatures in the Selected Districts	340
9.	Structure of the Government of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, as It Existed before December 1977, with the Municipal Level Illustrated Only for the Mariana Islands, Yap and Truk Districts	359
10.	Structure of the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands and of the Federated States of Micronesia, as of 1980	360

LIST OF MAPS

	Page
Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.	52
Island Groups Included in the Survey.	192
Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands.	194
State of Yap.	196
Truk Lagoon	204
State of Truk	207

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1.	Land Area and Population Distribution Among Four Categories of Inhabited Islands (Development Stages) in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands: Average Populations and Population Densities, as of 1973.	68
2.	Distribution of Inhabited Islands of Micronesia by Development Category and Size Range, in Square Miles	69
3.	A Comparison of the Amounts and Percentages of Total Government Funds Available to the Government of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands for Fiscal Years 1954, 1965 and 1976 from Local Revenues and Federal Grants. . . .	133
4.	Distribution of the Trust Territory Labor Force Among the Subsistence, Government and Private Sectors of the Economy and the Unemployed, as of 1973.	140
5.	Distribution of Working Age Population of the Trust Territory Between the Work Force and Various Categories Excluded from the Work Force, as of 1973	141
6.	A Comparison of Copra Production for Export in the Trust Territory for the Years 1956, 1968, 1972 and 1976; in Quantity, Price and Value and as a Percentage of the Total Value of Trust Territory Exports.	143
7.	A Comparison of Area (Square Miles), Population Density in 1973, and Population Changes in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands and the States of Yap and Truk and the Entire Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands for the Years 1949, 1965, and 1973.	211
8.	A Comparison of Government, Private and Total Wage Earning Jobs in the Northern Mariana Islands and the States of Yap and Truk: In Terms of the Percentages of Government and Private Jobs in Total Employment and as Percentages of the Total Working Age Population, Adjusted to Exclude the Estimated Number of Students, 1975.	214
9.	Trukese Status Scale, Based on the Extent to Which Certain Status Oriented Norms of Behavior Apply to Designated Relationships	228

Table Page

10. A Comparison of the Votes Received (Numbers and Percentages) by Candidates from the Mortlock Islands and from Moen in the Truk Lagoon in the Senatorial Elections in Truk in 1966 and 1974, by Representative District, Region, and Total 294

11. Distribution of Responses (Numbers and Percentages) to Question Related to Respondents Frequency of Voting in Elections since First Becoming Eligible to Vote on Political Attitude Survey Conducted in Northern Mariana Islands, Yap and Truk, 1977 and 1978. 312

12. Distribution of Responses (Numbers and Percentages) to Question Related to Frequency of Voting, Which Indicated that Respondents had Voted Either in All or Most Elections in Which They Were Eligible to Vote, by Ethnic Group, in Political Attitudes Survey in Northern Mariana Islands, Yap and Truk, 1977 and 1978 314

13. Distribution of Responses to the Question Related to Frequency of Voting in Elections in Which Respondents Were Eligible to Vote by Their Reported Highest Level of Attained Education in Political Attitude Survey in Northern Mariana Islands, Yap and Truk in 1977 and 1978. 315

14. Distribution of Responses to the Question Related to Frequency of Voting in Elections in Which Respondents Were Eligible to Vote by Their Age Ranges, as Reported in the Political Attitude Survey in the Northern Mariana Islands, Yap and Truk, 1977 and 1978 315

15. Distribution of Responses (Numbers and Percentages) to the Question Related to Frequency of Voting Which Indicated Respondents Had Voted in All or Most Elections in Which They Were Eligible to Vote by Frequency of Attendance at Political Meetings and Frequency of Reading of Newspapers, Political Attitude Survey in Northern Mariana Islands, Yap and Truk. 317

16. Distribution of Responses (Numbers and Percentages) of Yapese, Ulithians and Trukese; Men, Women and Total to the Question Related to the Frequency of Their Participation in Political Discussion on the Political Attitude Survey of 1977 and 1978 319

17. Numbers of Contested and Uncontested Elections Occurring in Yap District in the Year 1976, Where Incumbents Were Involved, Where Incumbents Were Not Involved, and the Number of Incumbent Losses. 346

Table Page

18. A Comparison of the Approximate Totals of Revenues Available for Expenditure by the Trust Territory Administration, the Congress of Micronesia and the Combined District and Municipal Governments During Fiscal Year 1975. 362

19. A Comparison of the Total Employees, Average Number of Employees, Average Wage and Total Wages Paid by the Trust Territory Government, U.S. Federal Government, Federally Funded Activities, the District Legislatures and the Municipal Governments in the Trust Territory for 1976 . . . 364

20. A Comparison of the Age Range Distributions of Members of the Yap District Legislature, for Yap Islands, Outer Islands and Total, with the Distributions of the Members of the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands and the Truk District Legislatures of 1978. 384

21. A Comparison of Distributions by Education of Members of the Yap District Legislature, for Yap Islands, Outer Islands and Total, with the Distributions of the Members of the Legislatures of the Northern Mariana Islands with Truk District of 1978. 385

22. A Comparison of the Mean and Median Numbers of Years of Formal Schooling Completed by Members of the Forty and Under and Over Forty Age Groups in the Yap District Legislature, for both Yap and the Outer Islands, the Northern Mariana Islands and the Truk District Legislature of 1978. 386

23. Distribution of Political Attitude Survey Sample by Political Subdivision, Island, and Sex. 413

24. Distribution of Scores Derived from Rankings of Alternative Political Statuses by Respondents to Political Attitude Survey. 419

25. Rank Order of Political Status Choices by Respondents to Political Survey by Island Group and for Entire Survey Sample. 421

26. Distribution of Scores Derived from Rankings of Alternative Constitution Forms by Respondents, Political Attitude Survey. 421

27. Factor Set I, Derived from Thirty-Five Political Policy Statement Responses 425

28. Factor Set I: The Percent of Common Variance in Survey Items Accounted for by Each of Five Factors 426

Table		Page
29.	Factor Set I: Factor Correlation Matrix.	427
30.	Factor Set II, Derived from Thirty-Four Survey Statement Responses Pertaining to Attitudes Concerning Other Groups and Entities.	429
31.	Factor Set II, the Percent of Common Variance in Survey Items Accounted for by Each of the Five Factors	433
32.	Factor Set II: Factor Correlation Matrix	434
33.	Correlations Between Paired Factors in Factor Sets I and II .	435
34.	Paired Correlations Among Three Factors in Factor Sets I and II.	436
35.	Paired Correlations Among Four Factors in Sets I and II . . .	437
36.	Percentage of Resondents in Each of the Four Island Groups in the Upper Forty Percent of the Range of Factor Scores, in Each of the Five Factors in the Two Factor Sets.	442
37.	Rankings of the Three Culturally Related Island Groups of the Truk Lagoon, the Outer Islands of Truk, and the Outer Islands of Yap, Out of Six Island Groups on Five Inter-related Factor Score Distributions.	445
38.	Chi Square (X^2) Values and Correlations (Pearson's r), with Significance Levels, Measuring Associations between Factor Score Distributions and Age Among Micronesian Respondents to the Political Attitude Survey.	453
39.	Chi Square (X^2) Values and Correlations (Pearson's r), with Signifiance Levels, Measuring Associations between Factor Score Distributions and Education among Micronesian Respondents to the Political Attitude Survey.	454
40.	Association Between Factor Score Distributions and Culture (Island) When Controlled for Education, A Summary of Chi Square (X^2) Values and Correlations (Pearson's r)	456

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A STUDY IN ACCULTURATION AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT: THE MICRONESIAN CASE

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

How can a people adapt to strong externally imposed pressures for political-cultural change? That is the central question of this research. Answering it requires examination of the interplay of the traditional culture and the political, economic, social, and educational forces for change. The focus of research is on those people inhabiting a number of widely dispersed groups of Pacific Islands, all incorporated as a single territory under a trusteeship arrangement.

The Analysis of Political Culture

The Concept of Political Culture

Before presenting the conceptual scheme of this study, it is necessary to clarify what is meant by political culture. Since the emergence of political culture as a specialized field of study is a recent development, with antecedents in several disciplines, it is important to place the study in the context of these antecedents. Since political culture is but one aspect of culture, it is best to begin by defining the broader concept. According to Edward Tylor:

> Culture . . . is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.[1]

This definition is often cited by anthropologists because of its inclusiveness. Culture includes every aspect of one's environment that is a product of human invention. In Malinowski's words, it is a "secondary environment," created out of man's needs to cope with his natural environment.[2] This environment, which is neither more nor less than culture itself, has to be permanently reproduced, maintained, and managed.

Kroeber and Kluckhohn define culture as:

> Patterns, explicit and implicit, of behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiment in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (e.g., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values.[3]

This definition is most satisfactory in that it underscores some fundamental characteristics of culture. It emphasizes that culture has its origins in behavior, patterns of behavior which become fixed. This is essentially what is meant by the concept of role and institution. Not every pattern of behavior constitutes a role or an institution. These terms apply not simply to actions, but to interactions, involving

---

[1]Edward B. Tylor, Primitive Cultures: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Art and Custom, vol. 1, Origins of Culture (1871; reprint ed., Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1958), p. 1.

[2]Bronislaw Malinowski, A Scientific Theory of Culture and Other Essays (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 36-37.

[3]Alfred L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions, Harvard University Peabody Museum of American Archeology and Ethnology Papers, vol. 47, no. 1 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1952), p. 181.

a plurality of actors and engaging important motives. Interactions which become institutionalized as roles are based on shared values and expectations.[4]

The Kroeber and Kluckhohn definition of culture emphasizes that these patterns of behavior may be either explicit or implicit patterns. They are acquired (i.e., learned, not innate) and both the learning and transmission are made possible by man's unique capacity for symbolic communication. The recognition that culture is "historically derived" and that some process of selection is at work makes it clear that it is specific to a given group or society.

Sidney Verba defined political culture as follows:

> [Political culture] refers to systems of beliefs about patterns of political interaction and political institutions. It refers not to what is happening in the world of politics, but what people believe about those happenings. . . these beliefs can be . . . empirical beliefs about what the actual state of political life is; they can be beliefs as to the goals or values that ought to be pursued in political life; and these beliefs may have an expressive or emotional dimension.[5]

For some purposes, it may be desirable to limit the definition of political culture to the subjective component of "beliefs," as in the above definition. But as the Kroeber and Kluckhohn definition makes clear, culture can be defined so as to include patterns of acquired and transmitted behavior (or institutions) and need not be limited to beliefs about them. For purposes of this study, it is necessary to include patterns of

---

[4]Talcott Parsons, The Social System (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951), pp. 26-28.

[5]Sidney Verba, "Comparative Political Culture," in Lucien Pye and Sidney Verba, eds., Political Culture and Political Development (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 516.

political interaction and political institutions in our definition of political culture. For many of the subjects included in this study, political attitudes, values, and beliefs have never been made explicit. Patterns of behavior must be identified and described before their subjective meanings can be explored. Thus, political culture will be defined to include elements of both the Kroeber and Kluckhohn and the Verba definitions, as follows:

> Political culture refers to patterns, implicit and explicit, of political interaction and political institutions and to systems of belief (attitudes, values, and opinions) about the political world; which are historically derived and selected and which have cognitive, expressive and emotional dimensions.

Political Culture as an Emergent Field

The concern of political scientists with the concept of political culture is largely a post-World War II development. It is a consequence of the new importance attached to political development in the so-called third world, underdeveloped, developing, or transitional areas. This, in turn, is a consequence of the process of decolonization and the ideological polarization and competition for dominance between East and West. Attempts to assist the modernizing efforts of the former colonial dependencies has brought into sharp focus the difficulties inherent in transplanting institutions from one culture to another.

If this concern with political culture is a recent development among political scientists, it has antecedents from other disciplines, which go back to the last half of the nineteenth century. Of particular importance to this study are the analytical distinctions between "traditional" and "modern" societies in the early contributions to the field of sociology.

One of the first of these was Sir Henry Maine, who used the terms "status" and "contract" systems, respectively, for these two types of societies.[6] Durkheim reversed the way in which Maine used the term "contract." Durkheim referred to the traditional society as "contractual," meaning a society based on an interpersonal system of rights, duties, and responsibilities. The unity of modern societies he called "organic unity," since it is based on a high degree of integration, achieved by an elaborate division of labor and broadly shared universalistic values.[7]

Max Weber developed his typology of systems of authority in terms of the bases on which it is legitimated. From this approach, he classified authority systems as traditional, legal-rational, and charismatic.[8] Weber's typology has been assimilated by the field of comparative politics and has been particularly useful in analyzing the process and problems of political modernization.

Macropolitical analysis, represented by Easton and Almond among others, has been greatly influenced by Parsons's system of structural-functional analysis. Parsons views a social system as a natural system which, like all systems, seeks to maintain its equilibrium, either a static or dynamic equilibrium.[9] A system is a pattern of interactions, structured as roles and institutions, the units of the social structure.[10]

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[6]Henry Maine, Ancient Law: Its Connections with the Early History of Society and Its Relation to Modern Ideas (London: Lardon J. Murray, 1861), pp. 172-74.

[7]Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society, trans. George Simpson (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1949), pp. 200-29.

[8]Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, trans. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), pp. 324-423.

[9]Talcott Parsons, The Social System, pp. 26-28.

[10]Ibid., pp. 38-39.

Parsons identified variable patterns of value orientation by which different types of social system could be identified. One such pattern he called the ascription-achievement pattern. This refers to the basis by which status is allocated. Ascribed status is based on some inherent characteristics of the person--kinship, ethnic identity, community, age, sex, etc. Achievement oriented status is based on goal related accomplishments of the individual. Another important pattern variable is that of universalism-particularism. Universalism is characterized by loyalty to a collectivity, a society as a whole. Particularism is characterized by loyalty to an individual or a segment of the collectivity to which the actor stands in a particular relationship (e.g., a kinship or ethnic group).

Another pattern variable is that of affectivity-neutrality. Affectivity is a term applicable to a situation in which action is oriented towards immediate gratification. The neutrality (or affectively neutral) orientation is applicable to a situation where gratification is subordinated to collective goal attainment.

Still another pattern variable is that of specificity-diffuseness. Specificity refers to situations in which roles are narrowly defined and limited to a specialized field of activity, as under an elaborate division of labor. Diffuseness is applicable to situations in which a range of undifferentiated activities are incorporated into a single role.

Parsons identified two contrasting combinations of value orientation patterns as characteristic of what he referred to as industrial and kinship based social systems. The terms modern and traditional can

be substituted for "industrial" and "kinship," for the values attributed to these two types of societies correspond with much that has been written about modern and traditional societies, respectively. Their contrasting characteristics, as identified by Parsons, are:[11]

Social System

Value Dimension	Modern	Traditional
loyalty	universalistic	particularistic
status base	achievement	ascription
function	specific	diffuse
affectivity	neutral	affective

Fred W. Riggs accepted these characteristics as descriptive of traditional and modern societies in developing his model of transitional societies. In fact, he used the concept of specificity and diffuseness of functions as the characteristics by which he differentiated these two types of societies. He described the society in which diffuse functions are combined in a single role or office as fused. The society where functions are subdivided into numerous specialized roles is diffracted. These terms are derived by analogy from physics, where "fused light is a composite of all frequencies, as in white light; whereas diffracted light isolates the component frequencies, as in a spectrum."[12]

Riggs uses the analogy of a prism to describe the situation of the transitional society, which he labels prismatic. When light that is

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[11] Parsons, The Social System, pp. 68-112, 151-200.

[12] Fred W. Riggs, Administration in Developing Countries, The Theory of the Prismatic Society (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1964), p. 22.

fused passes through a prism, it emerges as diffracted light. What of the light within the prism, is it fused or diffracted? It depends on one's angle of vision. It is Riggs's theme that prismatic (transitional) societies resemble the fused model, in some respects, and the diffracted, in other respects. He believes that they are, in fact, neither. They require a unique new set of categories to describe their features, since they cannot adequately be described in terms of the categories of either of the other types.[13]

The idea of systems analysis was carried over by Easton and by Almond and associates into the analysis of political systems. Almond and Coleman developed a model of political systems, which was designed to be applicable to all societies, whether primitive, traditional, or modern. Their description is an elaboration of Easton's system concept. They identify the input functions of political systems as: political socialization and recruitment, interest articulation, interest aggregation, and political communication. The output functions are identified as rule-making, rule adjudication, and rule application. Almond and Coleman state that even the simplest primative and traditional societies contain political systems which perform all of these functions. This may be obscured by the fact that in the simplest societies these functions are often performed intermittently by structures that are intermittent.[14] This conceptional scheme has been employed by a number of researchers in a number of studies of the political system of individual countries.

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[13]Fred W. Riggs, . . . The Prismatic Society, pp. 22-31.

[14]Gabriel Almond and James S. Coleman, eds., The Politics of Developing Areas (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1960), pp. 11-17.

Cultural Influences, Contrasting Views

Closely allied with the sociologists in their emphasis on social determinants (as opposed to individual psychological or cultural determinants) of behavior are the social anthropologists, such as Radcliffe-Brown and Bronislaw Malinowski.

The field of cultural anthropology, or ethnology, takes a contrary position, postulating culture as the primary determinant of behavior. Kroeber, Boas, Benedict, among others, have been identified with the concept of culture patterns or the configurational approach. According to this concept, the different elements of culture, derived from a process of adaptation and selection, tend to come together to form an integrated whole. From a wide range of possible adaptations, only a limited number are selected. Every culture represents a unique combination of elements or a configuration. It is a product of its own historic development, a "precipitate of history";

> . . . present in persons, shaping their perceptions of events, other persons, and the environing situation in ways not wholly determined by biology and environmental press. Culture is an intervening variable between human organisms and environment.[15]

Still another tradition should be recognized among anthropologists which has had an identifiable impact on those who have taken a particular interest in the study of political culture. This is the specialty of psychological anthropology or personality and culture, as it is more commonly called.

The early practitioners of this approach, such as Geza Roheim, were strongly influenced by Freudian psychology. Roheim's research among

---

[15]Kroeber and Kluckhohn, Culture: A Critical Review . . ., p. 186.

the Australian aborigenes was designed to demonstrate the universality of the oedipus complex. Later practitioners were not looking for universal personality traits but for those that might be related to identifiable aspects of particular cultures.

The personality and culture approach is based on the assumption that a given culture tends to produce a characteristic or common personality type. This is the result of a tendency to reward the kinds of behavior that are approved and to penalize those that are disapproved in the culture. The motive force behind any behavior is conceived to be the gratification of certain basic needs of the individual. Thus in rewarding some types of behavior and penalizing other types, the culture is gratifying some kinds of needs and denying gratification to others. Need gratification and deprivation are believed to have a formative influence on personality development.

The consequence of this aspect of cultural selection is that personality traits or types that are favored in the society will tend to be more widely distributed among its members than will less favored types. The configuration of personality traits that is most widely distributed within a society is sometimes referred to as the modal personality type. The formative process of need gratification and deprivation is assumed to be incorporated in child rearing practices. The parents or parent figures are the first and primary agents of socialization. It is assumed that their approach to child rearing will tend to reflect the behavioral norms of society.[16]

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[16]Gardner Lindsay, Projective Techniques and Cross Cultural Research (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1961), pp. 7-10.

The culture and personaltiy approach was very much in vogue among anthropologists in the late 1940s and early 1950s, when a number of studies based on this approach were conducted in Micronesia. In a number of cases, these studies were collaborative efforts between anthropologists and psychologists. These studies normally employed so-called projective techniques. The theory behind projective techniques is that in fantasy a person reveals his most strongly felt needs, including unconscious (repressed) needs. In fantasy, he "projects" these needs on an external object or a character in the fantasy story, with whom he subconsciously identifies. Projective techniques are devices, borrowed from psychoanalysis, which are designed to elicit fantasy productions. The most commonly used projective techniques are rorschach (ink-blot) tests and Thematic Apperception Tests (T.A.T.). The latter are pictures of scenes involving one or more persons, about which the subjects are asked to create a story.

The psychologist David McClelland has hypothesized that there is a critical relationship between the incidence of high achievement need within a society and subsequent economic development. He has made use of T.A.T. tests to measure the incidence of achievement need in various societies.[17] His studies have been replicated many times, in many countries. One of those who was influenced by McClelland is Robert A. LeVine, whose study of achievement need among the three main ethnic groups in Nigeria was based on an hypothesized relationship between the character of the status mobility system (i.e., whether ascriptive or achievement oriented)

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[17] David McClelland, The Achieving Society (Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1961), pp. 36-61.

and the distribution of achievement need. He summarized the theory underlying the modal personality concept.

> We view the social system as a selective, normative environment which exerts pressures in favor of those personality traits which facilitate optimal performance in social roles. Such pressures, operating through socializing agents who influence the developing individual, act to skew the distribution of personality traits in the population toward the socially valued norms for role performance.[18]

Every approach to the study of culture acknowledges that it is a product of some kind of adaptive process involving the inherited capabilities of human beings interacting with their natural environments and motivated by biological survival needs.

When it comes to defining the dynamic character of the acknowledged linkage between environment, culture, and personality and establishing the cause and effect relationship, there the various approaches diverge sharply.

According to the pattern or configurational concept of culture, the linkage can be described in the following general terms. Man's biological needs and his unique capacities, particularly the capacity for symbolic communication, are necessary conditions for the development of culture. It develops out of man's imperative needs for survival--for food, shelter, reproduction, defense against enemies and natural disasters, and for coming to terms with the supernatural world.[19]

But culture is not determined by either human nature or the natural environment. These set limits on the kinds of adaptations that are possible, but these are very broad limits. Any number of possible

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[18]Robert A. DeVine, Dreams and Deeds, Achievement Motivation in Nigeria (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1966), p. 12.

[19]Ruth Benedict, Patterns of Culture (Boston and New York: Houghton-Middlin Company; Cambridge, Mass.: The Riverside Press, 1934), pp, 21-44.

adaptations could meet the same environmental contingency. The explanation for distinct traits of culture is to be found primarily in its historical development.

In the sociological approach represented by Parsons, culture is both a product and a necessary component of a social system. It is part of the orientation of the actor to the situation.

A concrete action system involves the interaction of a personality system, a cultural system, and a social system. While they are mutually indispensible, none of the three systems is reducible to the others. A social system is a relational system. The units of analysis are patterns of interaction represented by roles and institutions. Unlike the configurationists, who emphasized the uniqueness of cultures and avoided causal hypotheses, the sociologists and social anthropologists emphasized comparison and classification as a basis for a science of society. In Malinowski's words:

> Function cannot be defined in any other way than the satisfaction of a need by an activity in which human beings cooperate, use artifacts and consume goods. Yet this definition implies another principle . . .the essential concept . . . is organization [which] implies a very definite scheme or structure, the main factors of which are universal . . . applicable to all organized groups.[20]

As Anthony Wallace demonstrates, a sharing of motives is not necessary to a sharing of institutions. Nor is it necessary to assume common cognitive maps. What is necessary is

> . . . the recognition--as a result of learning--that the behavior of other people under various circumstances is predictable, irrespective of knowledge of their motivation,

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[20]Bronislaw Malinowski, A Scientific Theory of Culture . . ., p. 39.

> and thus is capable of being predictably related to one's own actions.[21]

The concept of a modal personality type has lost ground in recent years. As Bert Kaplan has pointed out, investigations of personality types in given cultures has revealed an "embarrassing diversity of types."[22] Personality and social systems are regarded as autonomous but interacting systems. Although both tend to persist, both are open systems, subject to further adaptation and change.

The Behavioral Movement in Political Science

The study of political culture has antecedents in the discipline of political science, itself, particularly in the behavioral approach. It is an outgrowth of the extension of the search for a science of politics into the comparative field. Although there are many traditions associated with political behavioralists, such as legislative behavior, the study of elites, and group theory, which can contribute to comparative study, one of the most promising is the potential contribution of survey research.

Although survey research was applied to the study of electoral behavior in Chicago by Merriam and Gosnell as early as 1923, most of the formative theory of electoral behavior developed out of the Erie County studies in 1940 and 1944 by the sociologists Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and associates. They understandably emphasized the correlates between voting

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[21] Anthony F. C. Wallace, Culture and Personality, 2nd ed. (New York: Random House, Inc., 1961), p. 35.

[22] Bert Kaplan, "Cross Cultural Uses of Projective Techniques," in Psychological Anthropology, Approaches to Culture and Personality, ed. Francis L. K. Hsu (Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, Inc., 1961), p. 236.

behavior and various measures of socio-economic status. They likewise awakened interest in the process of political socialization. This is one of the central concerns of students of political culture--how political attitudes, values, beliefs, and behavior are learned, maintained, and transmitted to the next generation.

The Structure of Belief Systems

One area of investigation which has developed as a consequence of the survey research tradition has been centered on the structure of political belief systems. The concept of a political belief system implies that there is an interrelationship among the beliefs which a person holds on politically relevant subjects. There is some kind of interdependence, an underlying structure, which relates one belief to another.

> There can be no doubt whatever that attitudes do not occur in splendid isolation but are closely linked with other attitudes in some kind of pattern or structure. Indeed the very existence of parties and political labels imples as much; to say that a person is a Socialist or a Conservative immediately suggests that he holds not just one particular opinion on one particular issue, but rather that his views and opinions on a large number of issues will form a definite pattern.[23]

Since this concept of a unifying structure or belief system is of central importance to the research design of this study, it is in order to illustrate the concept rather fully. To take an example, on a number of specific issues, such as national health insurance, aid to dependent children, or school lunch programs, individuals will tend to

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[23]Hans J. Eysenck, The Psychology of Politics (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1955), p. 107.

react in a similar way. They will tend to favor all of these programs or to oppose them all.

The idea that opinions on such issues are systematically related has been born out by survey research. Attitudes on individual government welfare, such as the above, have been found to be positively correlated. For example, Angus Campbell and associates found:[24]

> Analysis of ten domestic issues and six foreign policy items explored in 1956 yields one set of opinions within each area that forms a satisfactory Guttman scale. Five domestic issues contributed to one scale, including the items on aid to education, medical care, employment guarantees, FEPC and Negro housing, and public versus private production of electricity and housing.

Such clustering of attitudes is assumed to be the consequence of an underlying broader attitude, which predisposes the person to look with favor or disfavor on government intervention in matters of social welfare.

This does not mean that all opinions on such matters fall into an either-or dichotomy of approval or disapproval on each of these government activities. One may strongly or moderately favor or disfavor a given program or he may be neutral or ambivalent in his attitude. The range of possible responses may fall at any point on a continuum from the strongest possible advocacy to the most extreme opposition. It has become commonplace to speak of a scale or dimension, on which every possible degree of favorable or unfavorable attitude on a given issue could be located.

When attitudes on a number of such seemingly quite related issues are found to be significantly associated, it is inferred that

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[24]Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes, The American Voter, An Abridgement (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964), pp. 111-12.

they represent a single attitude dimension. In other words, responses to all of these survey items are measuring essentially the same thing. In the above example, it is an underlying basic attitude or predisposition to respond in a similar manner to government interventions in social problems or conflicts.

A major controversy has arisen among political opinion researchers over the question of whether and to what extent mass publics tend to organize their political opinions into integrated belief systems or ideologies. The concept of ideology implies a rather thorough organization of beliefs.

> . . . [A] tendency can be discerned among contemporary writers to regard ideologies as systems of belief that are elaborate, integrated, and coherent, that justify the exercise of power, explain and judge historical events, identify political right and wrong, set forth the interconnections (causal and moral) between politics and other spheres of activity, and furnish guides for action. [italics in original][25]

In the United States, the most common ideologies are presumed to be those that are identified by the terms liberalism and conservatism. Liberals are those who tend to favor an active, interventionist role for government with respect to the social and economic problems of society and to assume that such intervention can be efficacious. Conservatives, on the other hand, favor a laissez-faire posture for government, believing that such matters can best be left in private hands and that government intervention will generally create more problems than it will solve.

His analysis of the pre- and post-presidential election surveys in 1956 and 1960 led Converse to conclude that ideological "constraint" is a characteristic of educated elites, particularly the political elites.

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[25] Herbert McClosky, "Consensus and Ideology in American Politics," The American Political Science Review 58 (June, 1964): 362.

He found little support for the idea that the masses think in terms of coherent belief systems or ideologies.[26] These findings were generally supported by those of McClosky, Prothro, and Grigg,[27] and numerous others.

Other researchers have suggested that these conclusions should, at least, be greatly qualified on the basis of their studies of the surveys of later presidential elections. They concluded that the tendency of the mass electorate to perceive political issues in ideological terms was, at least in part, a function of the salience of ideology in the stimuli of the electoral campaign and not so much a function of the inherent limitations of the electorate in dealing with ideological abstractions, as suggested by Converse and others.[28]

Multi-Dimensional Analysis

Most researchers would agree that, at least among acknowledged ideologues, opinions over the whole range of political questions were found to be associated in a way that can be loosely related to the traditional liberalism-conservatism continuum. However, all would acknowledge that that scheme does not account for significant variations among the belief systems thus identified.

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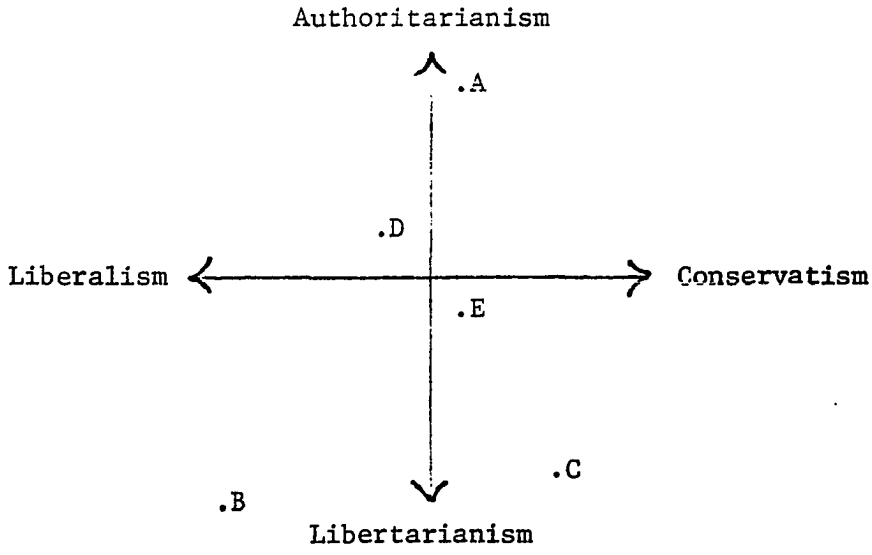
[26]Philip E. Converse, "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics," in Ideology and Discontent, ed. David E. Apter (New York: The Free Press, 1964), pp. 206-61.

[27]James W. Prothro and C. W. Grigg, "Fundamental Principles of Democracy: Bases of Agreement and Disagreement," Journal of Politics 22 (Spring 1960): 276-94.

[28]See, for example, Norman H. Nie and Kristi Anderson, "Mass Belief Systems Revisited: Political Change and Attitude Structure," The Journal of Politics 36 (1974): 540-91.

For example, attitudes about protecting the rights of minorities (civil libertarianism) can be associated with either a conservative (noninterventionist) or liberal (interventionist) attitude with respect to the role of government in the private economy. An illustration of the range of attitudes with respect to issues dealing with both the areas of economic regulation and civil liberties requires two dimensions, as in the following diagram.



In this diagram, the two terminal points on each axis represent the extreme attitudes on the liberalism-conservatism and authoritarianism-libertarianism dimensions. The point at which the two axes intersect represent the centrist or neutral position on both dimensions. Point A stands for the positions of an individual who is quite high on authoritarianism and slightly to the right of center on economic conservatism. Point B indicates the positions of one who is very high on both economic liberalism and libertarianism, while C represents one who is equally high on both economic conservatism and libertarianism. Points D and E represent the ideological center on both dimensions.

It would require still another dimension to relate these sets of attitudes to attitudes on nationalism-internationalism. A factor analysis might reveal almost any number of additional dimensions along which attitudes may be measured. These separate dimensions may be independent of each other or they may be intercorrelated. If the axes were redrawn through the areas of the highest concentration or clustering of points, the two axes would be at right angles to each other only if the two dimensions were statistically independent. If they were intercorrelated, the two axes would tilt towards each other to some degree.

Whether the structure of belief systems can be captured by one, two, or a large number of separate dimensions depends on how opinions cluster on a number of specific political questions. The existence of these dimensions is inferred from multiple correlations between responses to the individual questions. The problem of identifying the nature of a dimension, the common thread which characterizes their relationship, is a process of logical analysis.

However the structure of beliefs is conceptualized, there is widespread agreement that beliefs are organized hierarchically into some kind of system. Stone refers to it as a cognitive system.[29] The content of this system develops out of the individual's experience over time. Its component elements are beliefs, attitudes, and values. Stone accepts Rokeach's definitions of these terms.

> A belief is any simple proposition, conscious or unconscious, inferred from what a person says or does, capable of being preceded by the phrase, "I believe that. . .".[30]

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[29]William F. Stone, The Psychology of Politics (New York: The Free Press, 1974), p. 75.

[30]Milton Rokeach, Beliefs, Attitudes, and Values (San Francisco: Jossez-Bass, 1968), p. 113.

> An attitude is a relatively enduring organization of beliefs around an object or situation predisposing one to respond in some preferential manner.[31]

> A value is [an] abstract ideal . . . not tied to any specific object or situation, representing a person's beliefs about ideal modes of conduct and ideal terminal goals. . . .[32]

As Smith points out, the above definition of attitudes contains two elements that are contained in "virtually all proposed definitions." One element is that attitudes are organized predispositions. The second element is that they are organized towards (in relation to) an object.

> Attitudes are toward something: a thing, a concept, a policy, a person, a political party--or even the self. (italics in original)

Another point emphasized by Smith is that these dispositions "govern both thoughts [beliefs] and feelings [affect], which are hardly separable."[33]

Smith is prominently identified with what has been called the functional approach to the study of political attitudes.

> The approach is functional . . . [it] posits that a person acquires and maintains attitudes and other learned psychological structures to the extent that they are useful to him in his inner economy of adjustment and his outer economy of adaptation.[34]

Stone identifies four general functions which attitudes play in the psychic economy of the individual:

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[31] Milton Rokeach, Beliefs, Attitudes and Values, p. 112.

[32] Ibid., p. 124.

[33] M. Brewster Smith, "Political Attitudes," in Handbook of Political Psychology, ed. Jeanne M. Knutson (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1973), p. 59.

[34] M. Brewster Smith, "A Map for the Analysis of Personality and Politics," Journal of Social Issues 24 (1968): 22.

> Object appraisal. Also referred to as the knowledge function, this category refers to the attitudes that fulfill the individual's need to find meaning, to understand his universe.
>
> Social adjustment. Close to what Katz (1960) has called instrumental attitudes, attitudes that serve the social adjustment function help to maintain the person's relationships with other people.
>
> Externalization. [This category] refers to the ego defenses by which a person protects himself from unpleasant truths about himself or the external world.
>
> The value expressive function. [This] refers to those attitudes that serve to express the individual's cherished central beliefs . . . [those] values primary to one's self definition.[35]

Political Attitudes and Personality

As the above definitions of functions suggest, while political attitudes can be studied as cognitive systems, they have affective and expressive, as well as cognitive, dimensions. This, in turn, suggests linkages between an individual's political attitudes and basic aspects of his personality.

As previously indicated, the attempts to explain system level features of a society or culture in terms of personality characteristics or typologies, as with the model personality concept, have met with increasing scepticism in recent years. On the other hand, the assumption that individual political attitudes are associated with various aspects of individual personality has long been a part of the survey researcher's stock in trade.

Probably the most ambitious and influential study of the influence of personality on political attitudes was the series of investigations

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[35] William F. Stone, The Psychology of Politics, pp. 78-79.

by Adorno and associates, summarized in "The Authoritarian Personality." The major hypothesis of the study was

> . . . that the political, economic and social convictions of an individual often form a broad and coherent pattern, as if bound together by a 'mentality' or 'spirit' and that this pattern is an expression of deep lying trends in his personality.[36]

One unusual feature of this series of investigations is that it combined the methods of survey research and those of clinical psychology. Clinical techniques included interviews concerning the life histories of respondents as well as Morgan and Murray's "Thematic Apperception Test" and a set of projective questions which called for expressions of fantasy.

The purpose of the study was to see how opinions on specific questions related to attitudes, such as anti-semitism, might be associated with broader attitude dimensions, such as generalized ethnocentrism; and how constellations of such attitudes might be indicative of underlying personality traits, such as authoritarian aggression, submission, conventionalism, rigidity, dominance, toughness, and cynicism. All of these traits were found to be components of what is called an <u>authoritarian personality</u>.

Many common definitions of <u>personality</u> are stated in terms that parallel the terms in which the concept of <u>attitude</u> is frequently defined. Just as most definitions of attitudes stress that they are relatively stable or <u>enduring organizations</u> of beliefs or <u>predispositions</u> to respond to a given object in a certain way, it is said that

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[36]Theodore Adorno and Associates, <u>The Authoritarian Personality</u> (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 1.

> [c]ommon definitions of personality assume two meanings: (a) organized internal dispositions and (b) stability or consistency over time.[37]

For example, one definition of personality is

> . . . the dynamic organization within the individual of those psycho-physical systems that determine his unique adjustments to his environment.

The concept of personality is a global concept that encompasses such sub-concepts as traits, values, needs, drives, and habits. Personality theorists who use the individual personality trait as their unit of analysis (trait psychology) tend to treat the total personality as the sum of the individual traits that comprise it. Other theorists treat personality holistically, as a functioning unit (gestalt) and seek to understand its "organizing principle of intrapsychic unity."[38]

Among students of personality and politics, as with those concerned with culture and personality, the concept of basic needs as the organizing principle is widely accepted. Adorno and associates, for example, said:

> The forces of personality are primarily needs [drives, wishes, emotional impulses] which vary from one individual to another in their quality, their intensity, their mode of gratification and objects of attachment. [They] interact with other needs in harmonious or conflicting patterns.[39]

In this view, personality is a determinant of opinions, attitudes, and values, which are expressions of needs. However, it is not the ultimate determinant. It evolves from the interaction of the individual with his

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[37] Jeanne M. Knutson, "Personality in the Study of Politics," in Handbook of Political Psychology, p. 30, ed. Jeanne M. Knutson (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1973). The definition is attributed to Allport.

[38] Ibid., p. 32.

[39] Theodore Adorno and Associates, The Authoritarian Personality, p. 5.

social environment. It mediates sociological influences on political attitudes and behavior.

Attributing behavior to needs raises the question of how a person deals with a situation of need conflict. One point of view is the concept of a "hierarchy of needs." The hierarchy is based on the relative "prepotency" of needs. When different needs are equally unsatisfied, the more prepotent need will dominate the organism and organize its capacities. This concept has been most fully developed by Abraham Maslow. According to Maslow, physiological needs are the most prepotent and must be satisfied to some degree before other needs can operate. The other needs, in order of relative prepotency, are the safety, belongingness, esteem, and self-actualization needs.[40]

Another approach that gives recognition to conflict of motives is Kurt Lewin's "field theory." This approach is based on the concept that both the individual and his environment should be viewed as a single constellation of factors making up the individual's "psychological field" or "life space." In psychological terms, the important fact about the environment is not the particular stimulus or objective event but that event as it is perceived by the individual. It is this perception that he is responding to. On the other hand, psychological events are not determined by individual needs, motives, or drives, acting independently of the situation. Every living system tends to maintain a dynamic equilibrium with its environment. A goal, such as a higher production rate, may have both its attractions (positive valences) and repelling

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[40]Abraham Maslow, Motivation and Personality, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1954), pp. 35-46.

aspects (negative valences). The individual will strive to attain a situation where these forces are in balance.[41]

An individual may be in a situation of conflict between two positive goals or between two situations, both of which are perceived as having negative consequences. The tension of conflict is reduced when one goal is selected, removing the individual from the field of goal conflict. His action toward the selected goal reduces the tension of need related to that goal. This approach has an advantage over other conceptual schemes in that it gives recognition to the element of ambivalence in motivation.

Some Conceptual Problems

However it is perceived, the use of personality or personality traits in the analysis and explanation of political attitudes and behavior presents difficult conceptual problems. For one thing, the concept of personality is used to describe internal, subjective dispositions of the individual which cannot be observed. They can only be inferred from behavior.

A personality trait can be defined in terms of the conceptual schemes of the researcher and operationalized by specifying its presumed behavioral referents. Its meaningfulness as a predictor of behavior can be empirically tested. For example, the sense of political efficacy, as measured by responses to an attitude survey, can be tested as a predictor of the likelihood of voting in a given election.

Though the results of such measurements can sometimes be demonstrated to be statistically significant and capable of being replicated,

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[41]Kurt Lewin, Field Theory in Social Science (New York: Harper, 1951).

it is impossible to prove conclusively that the measuring device is measuring what it purports to measure. All that is directly observed is the behavior and the situation in which the behavior occurs.

This brings up a second point. An attitude or feeling is directed towards an object or situation, it is situation specific. So is the behavior that is presumed to manifest the attitude or feeling. For example, the authoritarian personality, as defined, is characterized as dominant, overbearing, and aggressive in dealing with persons perceived as inferiors. The same personality is characterized as submissive and deferential in dealing with idealized authority figures.[42]

Thus, the same need may be expressed by an individual in different, even contradictory, ways in different situations. Furthermore, the same behavior, in the same situation, may be symptomatic of quite different needs in different individuals. Thus, power seeking activity may be

> . . . reactive-formative against the fear of passivity, of weakness, of being dominated. . . . [Or] it may be instrumental . . . rather than primary in persons who seek compensation . . . to satisfy other personal needs, such as need for achievement.[43]

Smelser suggests that since personality variables are dispositional in nature, they cannot determine or explain behavior, in themselves. They can only be used in conjunction with other variables in establishing causal chains.[44]

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[42]William F. Stone, The Psychology of Politics, pp. 49-50.

[43]Alexander L. George, "Power as a Compensatory Values for Political Leaders," Journal of Social Issues XXIV (1968): 35.

[44]Neil J. Smelser, "Personality and the Explanation of Political Phenomena at the Social System Level: A Methodological Statement," Journal of Social Issues 24 (1968): 123-24.

> If the investigator wishes to make the connections between a personality variable and a specific outcome more determinate, he should do so by attempting to show under what additional conditions this connection is to be expected. This strategy preserves the necessarily indeterminate relation between dispositional personality variables and specific outcomes. (italics in the original)

In spite of these conceptual difficulties, linkages between certain personality types (or dispositions) and certain political attitudes or behavior have found considerable support. The dispositions which have been found to be associated with politically relevant attitudes or behavior include those of authoritarianism, dogmatism, alienation, anomie, and political efficacy. Personalities characterized by authoritarianism and dogmatism have been found to be associated with political extremism. The latter three dispositions are related to participation, or nonparticipation, in the political process.

None of these findings has met with unqualified acceptance. All have generated considerable controversy concerning the ways in which the dimensions of personality are conceptualized, the adequacy of the instruments of measurement, the unidimensionality of the hypothesized traits, and so forth.

Political Efficacy and Political Participation

Of particular relevance to the purposes of this study is the research that has been done on the relationship between feelings of political efficacy and political participation. It is important because of the prominence that has been given to popular participation in the political process as a democratic norm.

The interest of political scientists in political efficacy and its relationship to participation had its origin in the studies of voting

behavior conducted by Angus Campbell and associates at the University of Michigan Survey Research Center. They found political efficacy to be associated with socio-economic status, as well as with voting behavior. Political efficacy has been defined as

> . . . a disposition towards politics, a feeling of effectiveness and capacity in the political sphere.[45]

Renshon maintains that concern with the concept of political efficacy has focused too much on its predictive value, without giving sufficient attention to the development of an adequate theory of political efficacy. Political scientists, it is said, have accepted the concept and the measurement uncritically. Scales of political efficacy consist of four items taken from the Survey Research Center material; their unidimensionality is assumed.[46]

Renshon has undertaken the task of attempting to make up for the deficiency in theory by drawing on contributions from a number of related psychological and social psychological subfields in developing a tentative theory, which he attempted to test through surveying a sample of 300 college students. His hypothesis was that:

> . . . political efficacy had its origin in the basic need for people to obtain control over relevant aspects of their life space.[47]

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[45]David Easton and Jack Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy," The American Political Science Review 61 (1967): 25.

[46]Stanley L. Renshon, Psychological Needs and Political Behavior (New York: The Free Press, 1974), pp. 32-35.

[47]Ibid., p. 233.

This need, like all needs, is higher in some individuals than in others. Feelings of political efficacy result only when politics becomes relevant to one's need for personal control.

Renshon introduced a second criterion of political efficacy, that of political salience, which is

> . . . the perceived impact of the political system on the individual's daily life.

In summary, political efficacy is logically preceded by:

> . . . (1) the need for personal control, (2) the perception that politics is a control relevant sphere and (3) a successful history of participation.[48]

The difference between attitudes of political efficacy as a norm and feelings of political efficacy derived from satisfaction of the personal control need is that the latter derives from the experience of political participation which is perceived to have been successful. According to this analysis, political participation is related to two variables: political efficacy (a conviction that participation can be effective) and political salience (a perception that politics is relevant to one's control over his own life space).[49]

It has generally been assumed in past research that political participation is positively correlated with political efficacy, the higher the sense of political efficacy, the greater the degree of political participation. Renshon argues that this is not always true. On the contrary, a low sense of political efficacy might be expected to result in an increase in political participation if political salience is high. Under these circumstances, politics is seen as relevant to the need for personal

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[48] Ibid., p. 80.

[49] Ibid., p. 81.

control but this need is frustrated. This frustration is anxiety producing, resulting in increased attempts at control in the political sphere to overcome the anxiety.[50]

The results of Renshon's research confirmed his expectation that a combination of high political salience and low political efficacy will often result in an increase in political activity. However, individuals so characterized are likely to be less active in the traditional forms of participation, such as voting, joining political parties, and writing to public officials, than are those with a high sense of political efficacy. They are more likely than the latter to engage in more violent forms of political activity. This type of response to a low sense of political efficacy is characteristic of the politically alienated. The response of withdrawal from participation is characteristic of the apathetic.[51]

Renshon's analysis of the relationship between political efficacy and participation can be related to the conceptual scheme which underlay Almond and Verba's study of political attitudes and democracy in five nations. Almond and Verba divided political cultures into three basic categories, depending on the kinds of orientations which the members had toward the political system and toward the self in relation to the political system. These three basic types of political cultures are the parochial, subject, and participant types.[52]

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[50]Ibid., p. 81.

[51]Ibid., pp. 185-207.

[52]Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civil Culture, Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 12-23.

Orientations toward the political system and the self in relation to it include orientations which are cognitive (knowledge about the political system), affective (feelings about the system), and evaluational (opinions and judgments about politically relevant questions). The objects of the political system towards which these orientations are directed were defined as:

1. The political system as a general object, its history, size, constitutional features, etc.

2. Input objects, the structure and roles, the various political actors and policy proposals involved in the upward flow of policy making.

3. Output objects, the downward flow of policy enforcements and the structures, individuals and decisions involved in these output processes.

4. The self, as a member of the political system, awareness of one's rights, powers, obligations, access to influence, capabilities, norms of participation or of performance in arriving at political opinions and judgments.[53]

A culture is classified as parochial when the frequency of orientations to all of these four classes of objects approaches zero. The political cultures of African tribal societies are said to fall in this category. Their typical orientations are characterized by a comparative absence of expectations of change initiated by the political system.[54] The parochial expects nothing from the political system.

The subject political culture is characterized by a high frequency of orientations towards the general political system and towards the output functions, but orientations toward the input objects and toward the self as an active participant approach zero.[55]

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[53] Ibid., pp. 15-17.

[54] Ibid., pp. 17-18.

[55] Ibid., p. 19.

> The relationship is toward the system on the general level and toward the output, administrative or 'downward flow' side of the political system; it is essentially a passive relationship, although there is . . . a limited form of competence that is appropriate to the subject culture.

The participant culture is one in which the members tend to be explicitly oriented to the general political system, to the structure and processes of both the input and output aspects, and to be oriented to an activist role for the self in the polity.

The characteristic orientations of members of these three types of political cultures were summarized in the following chart:

Chart 1

Types of Political Cultures[56]

	Orientations toward:			
Political Culture Type	System as General Object	Input Objects	Output Objects	Self as Active Participant
Parochial	0	0	0	0
Subject	1	0	1	0
Participant	1	1	1	1

It can be seen from the above that a parochial political culture, by definition, combines a low sense of political efficacy and a perception of low salience for the political system in most of its members. The typical member does not see the political system as relevant to his personal control over his life space nor does he perceive himself as competent to participate in it.

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[56]Ibid., p. 17.

The typical member of the subject type of political culture perceives the political system as having an impact on his life, at least to some extent, with respect to the outputs of the system. This orientation combines political salience with low political efficacy. Even though he sees the system as effecting him, he does not see himself as competent to influence it.

The ideal member of the participant culture combines a sense that the political system is salient with a high sense of political efficacy. Though this is the ideal, or norm, of the participant culture, it is not to be assumed that the majority of members will, in fact, exhibit this orientation. For each member, a sense of political efficacy will occur only when he has the experience of successful participation, among other things. "Successful participation" does not mean success as measured by some objective standard of proven results. It means that the individual somehow perceives his participation as having been successful.[57]

In any culture, a sense of political efficacy depends on a number of variables. If Renshon is correct, it has its source in one's basic need for personal control. By definition, it would seem that the typical member of a parochial culture (a nonleader) could not have a sense of political efficacy since he could not realistically perceive politics as a "control relevant sphere." It would seem that membership in a participant culture is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for a high sense of political efficacy.

Almond and Verba recognize that these three forms are not representative of all political cultures. On the contrary, they point out that

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[57]Stanley A. Renshon, Psychological Needs and Political Behavior, pp. 80-81.

most cultures are mixed. They identify three additional types based on mixtures of these basic types. These are (1) the parochial-subject, (2) the subject-participant, and (3) the parochial-participant cultures.

Political cultures are mixed in two senses. The parochial, subject, and participant orientations are combined within the individual. In addition, a society combines social segments that are predominantly parochials with those that are predominantly subjects or participants.

> Thus, there are two aspects of cultural heterogeneity or cultural "mix." The "citizen" is a particular mix of participant, subject, and parochial orientations, and the civic culture is a particular mix of citizens, subjects, and parochials.[58]

Heterogeneity in political cultures results from changes in the political system. Almond and Verba suggest that because of such changes, political structures are often not congruent with political cultures. Such a situation tends to lead to political instability.

> A congruent political structure would be one appropriate for the culture, in other words, where political cognition in the population would tend to be accurate and where affect and evaluation would tend to be favorable.[59]

The effects of congruence/incongruence between political cultures and structures on stability of the political system was charted. (see chart 2) Incongruency is said to begin when the indifference point is passed and negative feelings and evaluations grow in number. It was suggested that the left hand column represents stability; as the right hand column is approached, instability increases.

The situation of many emerging nations is one of transition from a parochial political culture to that of a participant culture. The

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[58]Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture, p. 20.

[59]Ibid., p. 21.

Chart 2

Congruence/Incongruence between Political Culture and Structure[60]

	Allegiance	Apathy	Alienation
Cognitive Orientation	+	+	+
Affective Orientation	+	0	-
Evaluative Orientation	+	0	-

A (+) sign means a high frequency of awareness, or of positive feeling or of evaluation toward political objects. A (-) sign means a high frequency of negative evaluations or feelings. A (0) means a high frequency of indifference.

authors see this transition as particularly difficult. It is necessary to develop specialized orientations to both the input and the output side of the political system, simultaneously.

> The problems are to penetrate the parochial systems without destroying them on the output side, and to transform them into interest groups on the input side.[61]

Personal Control and Socialization

If a high need for personal control is a necessary condition for a sense of political efficacy, what accounts for variations among individuals in personal control? Renshon found that the socialization of the child has a significant influence on the development of personal control.

One very important element was found to be the family authority structure. In a family in which the child is allowed considerable

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[60] Ibid., p. 22.

[61] Ibid., p. 26.

autonomy he is likely to acquire more sense of personal control than in a family where he is more rigidly controlled. Autonomy allows him to personally confront and master problems and to acquire the skills of mastery and confidence in his ability to control his life space.[62] Consistency in rule enforcement is another aspect of the family authority system that was found to correlate positively with personal control.[63]

The kind of affective relationship within the family was also found to relate to personal control. An atmosphere of emotional closeness (parental empathy) was said to encourage the development of personal control and minimize "fear of the consequences of failure."[64]

The degree of the parents' personal control was also found to correlate positively with the child's personal control. In fact, under multivariate analysis (in which the effect of each independent variable was measured, with all other variables held constant) it was found that the parents' personal control was the best predictor of personal control in the child. The next two most important predictors were the degree of autonomy permitted the child and rule enforcement consistency. The emotional closeness in the family was found to have low predictive value, when other variables were taken into account.

Political Culture and Comparative Research

Almond and Verba have referred to political culture as the connecting link between micro- and macropolitics. It allows the researcher

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[62]Stanley A. Renshon, Psychological Needs and Political Behavior, pp. 124-28.

[63]Ibid., pp. 130-33.

[64]Ibid., pp. 135-51.

to relate the phenomena of political orientations of individuals to the phenomena of the political structure.

> . . . [by] examining the relationships between political culture tendencies and political structure patterns, we can avoid the assumption of congruence between political culture and political structure. The relationship between political culture and political structure becomes one of the most significant researchable aspects of the problem of stability and change.[65]

There is a common assumption (as in Riggs's model of transitional societies) that under conditions of rapid political change (as in Micronesia) there will be an incongruence between political culture and political structure. This is particularly true when new structures are imposed on a traditional culture from without. The study by Almond and Verba was an attempt to examine this question of congruence/incongruence by determining the distribution of political orientations among the populations of five nations with quite different cultures.

The civic culture, as defined by Almond and Verba, includes the elements of a positive attitude towards government, a habit of political participation, a sense of competence to participate, and a degree of trust in government. The civic culture involves more than a sense of political efficacy, but political efficacy is an important component of it. The term political efficacy was coined to describe a disposition of an individual, not an attribute of culture. Yet to speak of a participant culture is to describe the same phenomenon at the society level. An effective participant culture presupposes a certain degree of political efficacy in the population.

Renshon's concepts of the need for personal control as a necessary condition for political efficacy and of the family authority system

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[65] Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture, pp. 32-35.

as a major determinant of the personal control need offer a tentative explanation of how the sense of political efficacy is derived.

The modal personality concept of the culture and personality school of thought assumes that child rearing practices will tend to reflect the cultural norms of society. The effect of child rearing practices, as LeVine asserts, will favor the wide distribution of culturally valued personality traits. On this basis, it might be assumed that in a parochial or subject culture, child rearing practices will be of a kind that are conducive to the development of passive orientations towards authority. Conversely, on the same basis, it might be expected that in a participant culture, child rearing practices will favor the development of an orientation towards participation (or political efficacy).

Traditional Micronesian societies, for reasons that will be developed at a later point, fit the definition of a parochial political culture. A number of Micronesian societies were the subjects of culture and personality studies from which modal personality types were derived. These different studies yielded a very similar modal personality. For reasons that will be discussed, the results of these model personality studies cannot be uncritically accepted. In addition, they are dated, having been conducted about thirty years ago. Nonetheless, they speak to the point of personal control and to the elements of family authority structure, which Renshon found to be most significant for personal control--autonomy, consistency of rule enforcement, and parental empathy. They lend support to the assumed link between individual political efficacy and political culture type.

A premise of this study is that the ways in which Micronesians are socialized to the authority systems and the means by which social

control is exercised are not conducive to the development of personal control over one's life space. The kinds of authority orientations fostered by these processes involve a strong affective component and create a self image which makes it difficult to learn new orientations considered appropriate for the new roles adopted from a participant culture.

These premises are supported by the findings of the early culture and personality studies. They are also supported by data from other ethnographic studies in Micronesia. These other studies do not directly address the culture and personality relationship but they do give support to the belief that the socialization processes and the means of social control emphasized in the personality and culture studies are general among Micronesian societies. These assertions are also supported by the results of observations of Micronesians in political and administrative roles, by interviews of Micronesians conducted in all districts of the Trust Territory, and by the present author's experience of supervising Micronesians in the administration over a period of eight years.

To make these assertions is not to buy, wholeheartedly, the modal personality concept. It is rather to suggest that the special case of the Micronesian social systems, or other social systems similarly constituted, do indeed tend to produce the kind of configuration of personality traits attributed to them by the culture and personality researchers.

It is perhaps significant that the personality type attributed to Micronesia is strikingly similar to the general configuration of Burmese personality described by Lucien Pye in his study of politics

and personality in Burma. The socialization of the young Burmese through childhood and adolescence, as described by Pye, is also strikingly similar to that of the Micronesian child and youth.[66]

In any case, no study of the problems of political development and acculturation in Micronesia could claim to deal adequately with the subject which did not take into account this body of data on Micronesian culture and personality.

The Significance of the Study

Micronesia exhibits many characteristics in common with many other countries newly emerging from a state of colonial dependency. These characteristics include parochialism, ethnic diversity, traditional cultures, geographic dispersion, and limited resources. Like the people of many of these other new nations, the people of Micronesia have attempted to assimilate a new common identity. This common identity, as in many other countries, was conferred on Micronesia by the world community and was, in no sense, an outgrowth of any felt need for unity among the people concerned. Micronesia, in other words, is representative of a common syndrome among developing nations.

On the other hand, the experience of Micronesia is--in some ways--unlike that of any other state recently emerged (or emerging) from colonial dependency. With only about 120,000 inhabitants and 700 square miles of inhabited territory, Micronesia is certainly among the smallest of microstates. For more than thirty years, it has been under the control

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[66]Lucien W. Pye, Politics, Personality and Nation Building: Burma's Search for Identity (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1962), pp. 177-86.

and tutelage of the wealthiest and one of the largest of world powers. Under these circumstances, the process of cultural penetration comes more rapidly and thoroughly.

On a per capita basis, United States expenditures in Micronesia have been exceptionally heavy, about $1,000 per capita annually. It has undertaken to provide every child in Micronesia with the opportunity for twelve years of free public education, which is probably unprecedented for a colonial dependency. Furthermore, educational attainment has generally been well rewarded in terms of income and status. In some ways, at least, conditions in Micronesia would seem to be optimal for induced cultural change.

A case study of the Micronesian experience in political development, which takes into account the interplay of environment, history, culture, personality, economics, and colonial power can be of real value in illuminating the possibilities and limitations of efforts to induce political modernization. There is a great deal to be learned about the process of political cultural change and resistance to change. To the extent that it provides optimal conditions for induced cultural change, the Micronesian experience may be particularly revealing on this point.

Perhaps the concept of modernization needs rethinking. Possibly there are political adaptations to technical change that are less revolutionary and more consistent with traditional cultural values than the familiar western models. Given the present state of knowledge, these questions are largely unanswerable. A thorough case study may be of value in illuminating the precise nature of the questions involved. It can provide valuable clues, pose tentative answers, and provide suggestions for

future research. If this study can contribute in a modest way to these objectives, it will be well worth the time and effort spent.

The Research Design

As stated at the outset, this is a case study of the ways in which the people inhabiting the islands of Micronesia have adapted to externally imposed pressures for change. The particular focus of this study is on the ways in which the traditional cultures of Micronesia, particularly the traditional authority system, influence the character of their adaptations to the newly introduced formal institutions of representative government and administration. This influence is manifested in two ways. First, the traditional leaders, in various ways, bring their influence and authority to bear on the decisions of government. Secondly, the persistence of attitudes, values, and behavior appropriate to the traditional authority system can influence the attitudes and behavior of individuals in their new political roles.

It is in the nature of a case study that it attempts to examine everything that is considered pertinent to the question under study. It is not limited to one or two, or a few, classes of data nor to a limited number of specific relationships. It involves examining many relationships from a number of perspectives.

The islands of Micronesia exist in a natural environment that sets limits on their potential for political and economic development. Their native cultures share many features in common, which influence their adaptations to induced political change. They also exhibit significant variations in culture, which account for variations in their adaptations to change. They share a great deal of historical experience and have

been subjected, in recent years, to a common external governing power which has consciously attempted to impose political, economic, and cultural change. They have been confronted with a common set of political choices by the experience of external control. At the same time, there has been a considerable variation in the extent of their exposure to influences for change. In various ways, they differ in their potentialities for development. A case study in political cultural change must take into account all of these environmental, cultural, historical, political, and economic factors in common, as well as the significant variations among the islands in each of these respects.

To evaluate the influence of variations in all of these factors among the islands, it is not necessary to deal individually with every distinct political community in Micronesia. Instead, four distinct cultural areas have been selected for comparative treatment. These constitute distinct political subcultures. They represent differing indigenous cultures, natural environments, and stages of development. They represent the range of variation among the island groups of Micronesia. By contrasting these four subcultures, it will be possible to assess the variable influence of native culture, differential pressures for change, and other factors which shape variations in cultural adaptations.

Before undertaking the comparative analysis of individual subcultures, it is necessary to deal with the common factors of history, geography, and culture, and the common political choices confronting the people of Micronesia. Part I of this study presents this pan-Micronesian context. Part II is the comparative study of four island groups, which illustrates the variations among subcultures.

Research Methods

Two basic research methods were applied in the conduct of this study. One method was the extensive observation and interviewing of political actors from the perspective of the participant observer. The participant observation technique is an approach to research in which the investigator works from some form of membership in or a close association with the group under study. He needs to be recognized as at least marginally identified with the group by its members. This is important not only from the standpoint of encouraging informants to reveal their true selves, but also to enable the investigator to see what is revealed from the native perspective of the informant. The observer's marginal identification with the group is a necessary limitation of his situation, but it is also a defense to him. Too close of an identification with the subjects of investigation would undermine his objectivity.[67]

Political culture, as previously defined (page 3) includes "patterns, implicit and explicit, of political interaction and political institutions." The participant observation technique was employed principally to identify, compare, and contrast these patterns of interaction and institutions as they now exist in selected island groups and to see to what extent these relate and are congruent with traditional institutions, attitudes, and values.

The participant observation technique was employed to develop comparative profiles of the political systems of each of the island groups under study. The investigator was already marginally identified with the

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[67]Arthur J. Vidich, "Participant Observation and the Collection and Interpretation of Data," The American Journal of Sociology 60: 354-59.

political system of Micronesia as a result of eight years as an administrator in the Trust Territory government. As a former participant in the administrative branch, he was personally acquainted with a high percentage of leaders, not only in the administration but also with those in the territorial and district legislatures and even some of the important traditional leaders.

The study involved extended observations of political campaign meetings, speechmaking, election eve watch parties, inaugurations, legislative sessions, municipal council meetings, and other political gatherings, along with interviews with all categories of political participants. The process of observation and interviewing was preceded by a review of anthropological accounts of traditional Micronesian societies and published commentaries and newspaper articles, editorials, speeches, and reports and records pertaining to Micronesian politics and political developments published from 1947 onward.

The second method was the development and conduct of a political attitude survey on selected islands, to see what kinds of belief systems or attitude structures might underlie and explain opinions on specific questions and how these might be associated with differences in island culture, age, education, and other social characteristics.

The political attitude survey, like the observation and interviewing, was conducted on twelve islands in the four island groups studied. It reached participants from a number of additional, neighboring islands. The visits extended over a nine-month period, from November 1977 to August 1978. The survey items were chosen on the basis of prominent issues revealed in the commentaries of the past thirty years and through discussion with political participants and other resource persons.

An Outline of the Content

As stated above, part I deals with the political development of Micronesia as a whole. It begins with chapter two, which locates Micronesia geographically, identifies its people, and describes characteristics of its environment, history, and economic life which have a bearing on political development. Four distinct stages of development and acculturation are identified and explained in historic and geographic terms. These stages of development will be incorporated into the comparative analysis of political cultures in part II.

Chapter three is a description of the common characteristics of Micronesian traditional authority systems, with some indication of the nature and extent of variations among them. The general characteristics of these traditional systems of authority are analyzed in terms of Weber's and Parsons's typologies and Almond and Verba's categories of political cultures.

Personality and culture studies conducted in Micronesia are reviewed to isolate common traits attributed to modal personality types in several subcultures. The composite modal personality type is shown to be a product of the process of socialization to authority throughout the Micronesian life cycle, according to the findings in these studies. The family authority system and the orientations of Micronesians to authority are analyzed in the light of Renshon's theory of personal control as a necessary condition for political efficacy and his concept of the relationship between personal control and the family authority system.

Chapters four, five, and six deal with the specific content of Micronesian politics and the Micronesian political system as a precipitate

of history. Chapter four traces the course of political development under the American administered trusteeship. It emphasizes major events and critical turning points in the process of government. Chapter five discusses Micronesia's present condition of complete economic dependency on the United States, its causes and consequences, and the dilemmas it poses for Micronesian political leaders. Chapter six discusses the basic political issues that constitute the substance of Micronesian politics--future political status, unity or separation, preservation of the cultural and environment, modernization, the role of traditional leaders in the emerging constitutional system, United States military interests in Micronesia, and the territory's economic dependence on the United States. The interrelatedness of these issues is explored.

Part II begins with chapter seven, which is a comparative description of the four island groups (subcultures) selected for analysis, in terms of their geography, resources, populations, and stages of economic development and acculturation. These island groups are seen to represent all four stages of development identified in chapter three. The four island groups selected for comparative analysis are the Mariana Islands, the Yap Islands, the outer islands of Yap district, and the islands of Truk district.

Chapter eight is a comparison of the traditional authority systems of the four subcultures selected for study, as variations on the general model of traditional authority systems contained in chapter three. Chapter nine identifies and describes the factions which compete for control over the new political system. The more important of these factions have their origins in traditional divisions and rivalries.

Chapter ten is a comparison of the electoral systems of the four subcultures. It is in the electoral systems that the impact of traditional cultures in modifying the character of the new transplanted system of representative government is most clearly evident. The electoral process also shows the extent of variation in political adaptations among the island groups most clearly. Chapter eleven is a description and analysis of the political processes and systems of the four island groups. These, too, reflect the differential influences of traditional cultures and comparative stages of development on the characters of the new political subsystems. A major theme is the comparative influence of tradition and new elites.

Chapter twelve is an analysis of the political attitude survey conducted on twelve islands of these four island groups. Particular emphasis is given to the structuring of attitudes with respect to the range of political issues confronting Micronesia and the relationships between attitude structure and culture, level of education, political efficacy, trust in government, and other variables. Chapter thirteen presents conclusions and an assessment of current trends and probable future developments. It concludes with an assessment of what the Micronesian experience suggests about the problems of political development in the newly emerging nations, in general.

PART I

THE PAN-MICRONESIAN CONTEXT

CHAPTER II

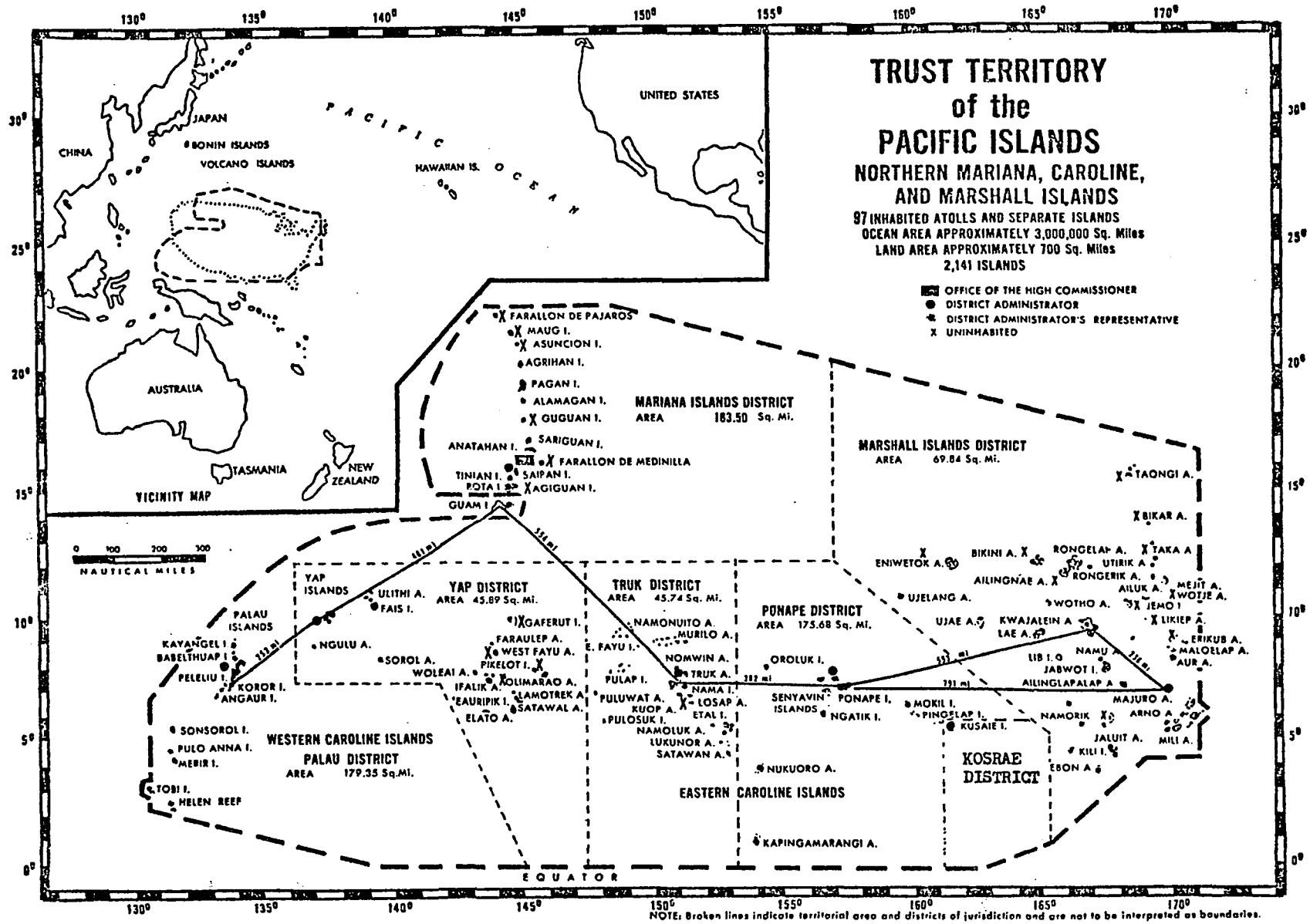
THE ISLANDS OF MICRONESIA

Locating Micronesia

The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, popularly known as Micronesia, consists of three island chains in the western Pacific Ocean. These are the Mariana Islands, the Caroline Islands, and the Marshall Islands. The islands in the territory range from 1° to 23° north latitude and from 130° to 171° east longitude. Thus, Micronesia falls entirely in the tropical zone and the eastern hemisphere.

The map on the following page places the entire Trust Territory, geographically, in relation to the continents and major islands of the Pacific area (see insert). The superimposed outline map of the United States illustrates the relative size of the area covered by the Trust Territory. On the detailed map, the solid line, used to show distances between the district centers of Micronesia and the United States territory of Guam, is the line of travel for the jet airline which connects these districts. To be complete, it should extend to Saipan and should show connections to Tokyo, via Saipan, and to Honolulu, via Majuro in the Marshall Islands.

The term Micronesia is an historic geographic term for the area, first used by the Spanish. It is derived from the Greek words mikros



NOTE: Broken lines indicate territorial area and districts of jurisdiction and are not to be interpreted as boundaries.

SOURCE: Government of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

(small) and nēsoi (islands). The fact of a common name for these islands carries no implications of either ethnic or political unity. In its correct historic sense, the area called Micronesia includes Guam, the Gilbert Islands, and the independent island state of Nauru. However, the name Micronesia will be used, herein, in its current popular usage, in which it is interchangeable with the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

The islands of Micronesia include fifty-nine atolls, plus thirty-three single islands and 2,137 islets, scattered over some 3,000,000 square miles of ocean.[1] More than 100 of these islands are currently inhabited. An islet is a small piece of land which is unsuitable for habitation because of its size and composition.

Many American commentaries on Micronesia emphasize the close comparison between the area of Micronesia and the land area of the forty-eight contiguous states of the United States. To this comparison, it is often added that the total land area of Micronesia (variously given as 700 to 900 square miles[2]) is roughly equivalent to one-half of the area of the state of Rhode Island. This comparison conveys a rather clear image of the extent of fragmentation and geographic dispersion of the more than 2,000 islands and islets of Micronesia.

The map shows the geographic boundaries of the seven administrative districts into which the Trust Territory has been subdivided. At

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[1]Douglas L. Oliver, ed., Planning Micronesia's Future, A Summary of the United States Commercial Company's Economic Survey of Micronesia, reprint (Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press, 1971), p. 1.

[2]For example, Douglas Oliver, Planning Micronesia's Future, gives 687 square miles in the introduction to the 1971 reprint (page viii) and the figure of 901.4 square miles on page 1 of the report itself. The figure of 700 square miles, which seems to refer only to the inhabited areas, is the most common figure given.

the time that the field work for this study was conducted, this district organization was still in effect, with one exception. During the time that the Mariana Islands were being surveyed, their de facto separation from the Trust Territory took effect and the new government of the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands was inaugurated.

Since completion of the study, the Palau and Marshall Islands have also separated and each of these island groups is now a self-governing state in free association with the United States.[3] The remaining "districts" of Yap, Truk, Ponope, and Kosrae are now called states in the newly created Federated States of Micronesia. However, since these subdivisions were, with one exception, districts of the Trust Territory at the time of the study, they will commonly be referred to as districts in this report, unless the reference is specifically to their new statuses.

The Marshall Islands constituted one of the historic districts of the Trust Territory. The Mariana Islands constituted another, the Caroline Islands contained the other five districts.

The Marshall Islands are the easternmost of these island chains. They are located about 2,000 miles southwest of Hawaii. They actually consist of two parallel chains, the Ratak and Ralik chains, each running in a general north-south direction. The people of the Marshall Islands are culturally and linguistically homogeneous. The islands are all of the low coral type of formation, rising only a few feet above sea level.

The Caroline Islands are a scattered chain, running about 2,200 miles in a general east-west direction. The easternmost island in the chain is about 300 miles to the west of the nearest of the Marshall Islands. They stretch to a point about 600 miles from Mindanao in the

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[3]The meaning of this status will be discussed in chapter four.

Philippines, at their westernmost extreme. They contain seven distinct languages and cultures, with a number of subcultures and local variations in dialect. They include both the high volcanic islands and low coral atolls. Their district centers are all of the high volcanic type.

The Mariana Islands are the northernmost islands in the Trust Territory. They are formed by the peaks of the southern portion of a submerged mountain range, running north and south between Japan and Guam, the southernmost island in the chain. They extend for about 450 nautical miles. The original inhabitants are the Chamorros, a culturally homogeneous population. In addition, about one-fifth of the present native population consists of the descendents of people who migrated from the Caroline Islands, beginning in the early nineteenth century. The district's principal island of Saipan lies about 1,400 miles south of Tokyo and 1,500 miles east of Manila. The Mariana Islands are all of the high volcanic type.

The Administrative Districts

The island of Majuro was the administrative center of the easternmost district, the Marshall Islands. The island of Kosrae was the newest district, having been separated from Ponope district. The island of Ponope was the district center for a number of scattered islands in the eastern Caroline Islands. Ponope district contained two islands, those closest to the equator, that are actually Polynesian in language and culture. They are the only such islands in the Trust Territory. The island of Moen in the Truk lagoon was the district center of several groups of scattered, but culturally related, islands, all of which are considered Trukese. Truk was the most centrally located and populous

district in the Trust Territory. The Yap Islands, a complex of four islands linked by causeways, contained the site of the district center for Yap district. The remaining islands in the district, stretching eastward towards Truk district, are culturally related to the Trukese but not to the Yapese people. Though the district was large in area, only Kosrae was smaller in population. The island of Koror was the district center of Palau, the westernmost district. The overwhelming majority of the people of that district are one people, the Palauans. The district includes several non-Palauan outer islands with very small populations. The outer island people share a common origin with the culturally related people of Truk and the outer islands of Yap district.

The Mariana Islands were the first and most thoroughly colonized islands in Micronesia. They were occupied and missionized by the Spanish in the seventeenth century. Many of the other islands were not occupied by a foreign power until the late nineteenth century.

The islands of Micronesia have been occupied, successively, by the Spanish and the Germans, as colonies; by Japan, as a League of Nations mandate; and by the United States, under a trusteeship agreement with the United Nations. The previous occupying powers generally followed a policy of indirect rule, which permitted the islanders to retain much of their original social structure.

The island of Guam, though a part of the Mariana Islands, is a United States territory and is not included in the scope of this study. It has had an important impact on the Trust Territory, economically and politically. It is the transportation hub of the area and all air traffic between the eastern and western districts of the Trust Territory transits

Guam. It is a transshipment point for water carriers between Micronesia and the larger world. As a comparatively highly developed United States territory, it has been a model for the political aspirations of the people of the other Mariana Islands, to whom it has strong ethnic, historic, and economic ties.

The Land and the People

The earliest date of human habitation that has been established with any certainty for Micronesia is approximately 1500 B.C. This date was established through the carbon dating of artifacts excavated on Saipan.[4] The carbon dating of charcoal remains on Yap has established that the Yap islands were inhabited at least as early as 176 A.D.[5]

Authorities differ somewhat concerning both the racial origins of the people and the paths by which they migrated into the area. There is general agreement that all of the people of Oceania, which includes the areas now known as Melanesia, Polynesia, and Micronesia have common origins in successive migrations, involving several distinct racial strains. There are evident mixtures of mongoloid, negroid, and caucasoid features in the populations of Oceania, though the relative blends of these racial elements are different in the different subregions.

Among the Micronesians, the dominant strain is clearly the Indonesian mongoloid element. Micronesians are believed to have migrated into the islands from Malaysia or the Phillipines, though some migrations

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[4]Alexander Spoehr, Saipan, The Ethnology of a War Devastated Area, Fieldiana: Anthropology, vol. 41 (Chicago: Chicago Natural History Museum, Febr. 11, 1954), p. 34.

[5]David Labby, The Demystification of Yap (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1976), p. 1.

may have come northward from the islands of Polynesia and Melanesia and possibly turned eastward into the western Caroline Islands.[6]

There is general agreement that the languages of all of the peoples of Oceania belong to one of two language families. One group is commonly labelled the Austronesian (or Malayo Polynesian) language family. The other is called simply the non-Austronesian (or Papuan) family.

The language classification developed by Isidore Dyen uses the term Malayo Polynesian, not as a synonym for Austronesian, but rather as the label for the largest subcategory of the Austronesian language family. Under this classification scheme, all of the languages of Micronesia are included within the Malayo Polynesian subcategory, except Yapese, which is considered an isolated language (i.e., a distinct branch) of the Austronesian family.[7]

All of the other languages of Micronesia are placed within a single branch of the Malayo Polynesian subcategory, except Chamorro and Palauan, each of which is considered a separate branch of the Malayo Polynesian group. The more inclusive branch is called the Carolinian branch. It includes the languages of the Marshall Islands, Kosrae, Ponope, Truk, and the outer islands of the Yap and Palau districts. These languages have been found to be more closely related to those spoken in the New Hebrides in Melanesia than to any other Pacific language.

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[6]George P. Murdock, "Genetic Classification of the Austronesian Languages: A Key to Oceanic History," in Peoples and Cultures of the Pacific, ed. Edwin P. Vayda (New York: The Natural History Press, 1968), p. 90.

[7]George P. Murdock, "Genetic Classification of the Austronesian Languages. . .", pp. 81-94.

They are only very distantly related to the other three Micronesian languages.[8]

The people of Micronesia are generally short in stature, brown skinned, and have either straight or wavy hair. The present population of Micronesia is approximately 120,000.

The Islands

As suggested above, Micronesian islands are of two types. One, the low coral atoll, is formed by the buildup of colonies of living coral, over the skeletal remains of former colonies. Certain algaes are also essential elements in the process of reef building. Since coral cannot thrive below a certain depth, the coral reefs of the Pacific have formed over the barrier reefs of volcanoes that have subsided below the surface of the ocean. The coral reefs form irregular shaped rings, creating an enclosed lagoon in the process.

Islands form above the reefs through the action of wind and waves in depositing coral sand, shells, and the remains of other marine plant and animal life. The irregular shape of the reefs and the islands that form above them are the results of the variable effects of winds, waves, and tides. The islands seldom rise more than thirty feet above sea level; ten feet is more common.

The other type of island is the high volcanic type. These islands are formed of basaltic lava spewed out of rifts in the ocean floor to form domes which protrude above the sea. Most high islands

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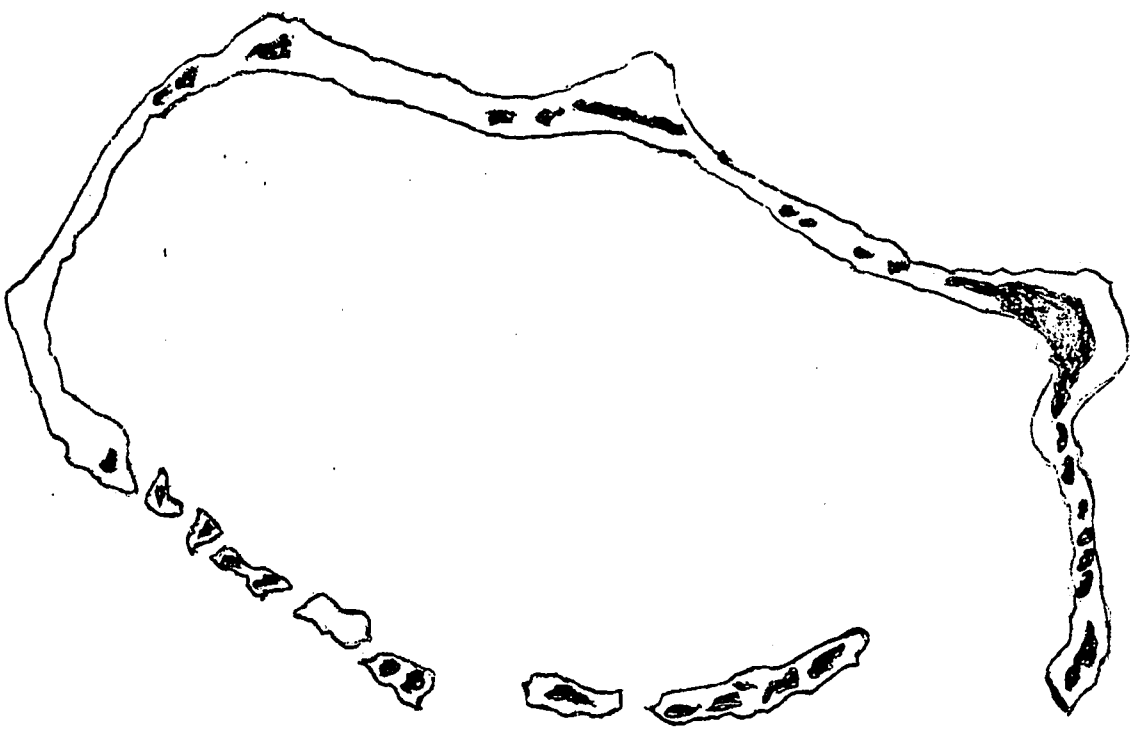
[8]George W. Grace, "Austronesian Linguistics and Culture History," in Cultures of the Pacific, ed. Thomas G. Harding and Ben J. Wallace (New York: The Free Press, 1970), p. 25.

are ringed by coral reefs, either as fringing reefs (along the shore) or as barrier reefs (offshore).

The Low Islands

In the coral atolls of Micronesia, the land area is typically very small. It consists of little spits of land, scattered intermittently around the perimeter of the reef. The enclosed lagoon, on the other hand, is often as much as twenty to forty miles in diameter. The largest atoll in Micronesia is Kwajelein, in the Marshall Islands, which is forty-two miles long and thirty-two miles wide. The following rough sketch of Bikini Atoll illustrates the kinds of configurations that develop.

Bikini Atoll--A Rough Sketch



Enclosed white areas are reef areas. Dark areas are islands.

SOURCE: The general configuration was rough sketched from Robert C. Kiste, The Bikinians: A Study in Forced Migration (Menlo Park, Calif.: Cummings Publishing Company, Inc., 1974), p. 17.

The largest island in the Bikini Atoll is roughly two-thirds of a square mile (.66 square miles) in area. The remaining twenty-five islands have a total land area of 2.32 square miles. The lagoon enclosed by the reef, on the other hand, has an area of 243 square miles. It is roughly twenty-six miles in length and fifteen miles wide, at its maximum width. The channel through the pass in the southeast portion of the reef can be negotiated by sea-going vessels.[9]

Before the people of Bikini were transplanted to the island of Rongerik, so that the atoll could be used for atomic tests, Bikini was home to 170 Marshallese. That population included eleven extended families averaging about fifteen members each.[10] All of these people resided on the main island, though they held title to all of the islands of the atoll. All of the land was used, at least for growing copra.

The Bikini configuration is rather typical of the atolls of Micronesia. However, with its nearly 3.0 square miles of land area, it is actually larger in land area than most, particularly those in the Carolines. Its population density (at the time of the displacement to Rongerik) was well below the outer island average. Atolls with smaller land areas frequently have populations in the 500 to 1,000 range. For example, Losap atoll, in Truk district, with only .30 square miles of land area, had a population of 670 at the time of the last census (1973). Pingelap, with .68 square miles, had 657 inhabitants.[11]

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[9]Robert C. Kiste, The Bikinians. . ., p. 16.

[10]Ibid., pp. 68-69.

[11]Population Tables, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands September 1973 Census. Report issued September, 1973, Saipan, Mariana Islands, pp. 4-5.

The typical low island has sandy soil, which is low in fertility and does not retain water very well. Only a limited number of crops grow well in this environment. These include taro, pandanus, arrowroot (a tuber), and coconuts. In some of the more fertile low islands, such crops as breadfruit, bananas, and papaya also grow well. Taro grows in swampy soil and most islands have a sizable interior area set aside as a taro patch. Here the soil is muck, formed of decayed vegetable matter.[12] Taro is the principal staple. Breadfruit is also a staple, but, unlike taro, it grows only in season. The atoll people raise a few pigs and chickens, but these contribute little to the diet for they are eaten only on special occasions. Pandanus trees produce an edible fruit. Coconuts provide both food and drink. Both of these plants produce fibre used in making rope, mats, and thatch panels for roofs and walls of houses. The fibre rope is used in the place of nails to bind together the joints in the construction of canoes and houses. Pandanus fibre is used in some islands for making lava-lavas, or wraparound skirts. Coconut fronds are commonly used in making baskets.

The people rely on catchment systems for fresh water. In some areas, where rainfall is subject to greater seasonal variation, these will run dry at times. The people also rely on coconuts for drink.

The people of the atolls are heavily dependent on fish, crabs, turtles, and other forms of marine life from the lagoons and the open sea for their subsistence. Fishing is done in a variety of ways, but the largest harvests are secured by seining. Sometimes a very large school

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[12]John L. Fischer and Ann M. Fischer, The Eastern Carolines, Behavior Science Monographs (New Haven, Conn.: Human Relations Area Files Press, 1970), p. 5.

of fish will be driven into a shallow lagoon area by a school of larger predator fish. A call will go out to all of the men in the village who will spread a huge net to catch the fish between themselves and the shore. This will provide an enormous catch, some of which can be preserved by smoke drying.

The food supply is normally adequate to support the atoll populations under the traditional system of subsistence agriculture and fishing. The diet, if adequate, is rather lacking in variety. The food supply is not secured without considerable effort. The major tasks require the communal efforts of large numbers of people.

Other communal activities involve the construction and repair of nets, canoe houses, and other communal buildings. In fact, work is characteristically a communal activity. It is directed towards the gratification of immediate needs. Food gathering is the preeminent activity. Only a few foods can be preserved for a time. The work usually calls for intense physical activity for a period of time, but it is, characteristically, sporadic and irregular. Between periods of intense activity come significant periods of relaxation and repose.[13]

Regular trading relationships added somewhat to the variety of goods available to the people in traditional Micronesia. The trading parties travelled hundreds of miles in their outrigger canoes. With the coming of the Europeans, trade goods were brought to the islands in ships by the trading companies. In exchange for copra, the islanders bought

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[13]William A. Lessa and Marvin Speigelman, Ulithian Personality as Seen Through Ethnological Materials and Thematic Test Analysis, University of California Publications in Culture and Society, no. 2 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1954), pp. 244-45.

cloth, metal tools and utensils, fish hooks, tobacco, canned goods, rice, sugar, and other commodities.

The High Islands

There is considerable variance in the quality of soil on the high islands of Micronesia, but they usually have much better soil coverage than the low islands. The fresh water supply is generally better. All inhabited high islands have fresh springs and some of them have sizable streams.[14]

The traditional way of life was not fundamentally different on the high islands from that of the low islands, except that it was more oriented towards the land. Since the land was more plentiful and productive, more varieties of food and nonfood crops could be grown. Many high islands have been found to be capable of producing a wide variety of introduced crops, including rice, citrus fruits, melons, and many of the common vegetables grown in the temperate zone (lettuce, tomatoes, cabbage, cucumbers, beans, etc.). In addition, many traditional foods such as breadfruit, bananas, and papaya, are more productive on the high islands, where more different species of these food plants can grow.

The high islands were naturally centers of trade for the surrounding low islands. Sometimes they established political domination over the people of the low islands. Residents of the high islands were generally considered to be "higher" in the traditional social scale than were those of the low islands. With the coming of western contact, the high islands were usually the centers of trade with the outside world and the first areas to experience missionary activities and colonial occupation.

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[14]John L. Fischer and Ann M. Fischer, The Eastern Carolines, p. 5.

These higher islands became the administrative centers and the outer islands' link with the outside world.[15]

In the entire arc of the Pacific Ocean between the equator and 30° north latitude there are only three islands that have an area in excess of 100 square miles. Two of these are in the Trust Territory. These are Babledaob, in the Palau Islands, and Ponope. The third is the island of Guam. Babledaob, the largest island in the Trust Territory, has 153 square miles. Ponope has 129 square miles. Only two others exceed 40 square miles. There are only eleven islands in the Trust Territory that exceed 10 square miles, including the above named. Five of these are in the Mariana Islands chain.

The Four Stages of Development

As previously stated, it is possible to distinguish at least four stages of development among the islands of Micronesia, in terms of both economic development and acculturation. To distinguish four such stages is not to draw fine distinctions, since the differences among the four are gross and highly visible.

Saipan, as the Headquarters site or capital of the Trust Territory for many years, is clearly in a class by itself in terms of economic development and acculturation.

The longtime district center islands (including Moen in Truk and the Yap Islands complex) represent the second highest stage of development. They fall far behind Saipan in terms of the concentrations of government jobs and commercial activities and in the extent and quality

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[15]The Marshall Islands, where no high islands exist, are an exception to this rule.

of their public roads, utilities, and services. As district administrative centers, they have high concentrations of government activities and jobs, in comparison with other islands in their districts.[16] This stage of development is also represented by Ebeye, the bedroom community for Marshallese employees of the Kwajalein missle test center.

The third highest stage of development would be represented by certain islands which, because of their proximity to the district centers and to the airline route connecting these centers, share, to a degree, in the development of the district center. Included in this category are such islands as Babeldoab in Palau, Rota, and Tinian in the Mariana Islands and all of the inhabited islands of the Truk lagoon, outside of the district center island of Moen. Also included in the third highest stage of development would be certain islands, somewhat more remote from the district center, which have been designated "subdistrict centers" for their respective outer island groups. In this subcategory would be such islands as Ulithi in Yap district and Satawan in Truk. A designation as a subdistrict center brings to an island an administrative, clerical, communications, and public works staff. In practice, it has also meant the establishment of a high school on the island to serve the youth of its outer island group.

The more remote and isolated outer islands represent the lowest stage of development found in the Trust Territory. In such islands, the presence of the Trust Territory government is normally limited to a small

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[16]The term "district centers" is the historic term for these islands. With the implementation of new constitutions in 1978 and 1979, these administrative subdivisions become somewhat more autonomous and are now designated as states.

elementary school, with one or two teachers, and a dispensary, with a like number of health aides. Except for these few salaried workers, the residents rely on subsistence agriculture and fishing, supplemented by cash from the periodic sale of copra. Roads are non-existent.

Population Distribution and Trends

The distribution of the land area and population of Micronesia among the islands in these four stages of development is shown in table 1. The distribution of population shown here is that of the year 1973, the last year in which an actual census was taken.

As is often the case with averages, it is somewhat misleading to present the average size and population of islands in each of these categories as though these were typical. For example, the island of Babeldaob alone accounts for 50 percent of the area in the islands in the semideveloped group and 16 percent of their population. Similarly, the four islands in the Mariana Islands group that are included among the outer islands account for 42 percent of the total area of these seventy-six islands, but only .004 percent of their population. When these four islands from the Mariana Islands group are excluded, the population density of the outer islands group is increased from 145 to 249 per square mile.

A clearer picture of the characteristic size of the islands in each of the four stages of development can be seen from table 2. As that table shows, both the modal and the median size of the main islands are in the size range in excess of ten square miles. The modal island size for both the semideveloped and outer island categories is in the range of less than one-half of a square mile in area. The median size

Table 1

Land Area and Population Distribution among Four Categories of Inhabited Islands (Development Stages) in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands: Average Populations and Population Densities, as of 1973

Development Stages	No.	Area (Sq. Miles) Total	Area (Sq. Miles) Ave.	Population Total	Average	Per Sq. Mi.	Percent Pop.	Percent Area
I. Saipan	1	47.46	47.46	11,091	11,091	234.0	9.9	6.5
II. Other Main Islands	8	297.51	37.19	58,061	7,258	195.2	51.7	40.5
III. Semi-Developed Islands	26	260.53	10.02	24,401	939	93.7	21.7	35.4
IV. Outer Islands	76	129.50	1.70	18,846	248	145.5	16.7	17.6
Totals	111	735.00	6.62	112,399*	1,013	152.9	100.0	100.0

*Excludes 181 seamen and 63 persons for whom no island residence was stated.

SOURCE: Land area from Annual Reports to the United Nations for 1952. Population from Population Tables, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, September, 1973 Census.

Table 2

Distribution of Inhabited Islands of Micronesia by Development Category and Size Range, in Square Miles

	Category	No.	Land Area (in Square Miles) 10+	5-10	1-5	1/2-1	Less than 1/2
I.	Saipan	1	1	0	0	0	0
II.	Other Main Islands	8	4	1	3	0	0
III.	Semi-developed Islands	26	3	2	6	4	11
IV.	Outer Islands	76	3	3	18	16	36
	Totals	111	11	6	27	20	47
	Percent	100	9.9	5.5	24.3	18.0	42.3

SOURCE: Annual Report to the United Nations for 1952.

for each of these two categories is somehwere in the one-half to one square mile range.

It can be seen from these distribution charts that the most representative size island in Micronesia is one that has less than one-half of a square mile in area. However, there are only fifteen islands with one square mile or less in area in the first three categories that account for 82.4 percent of Micronesia's population. If the typical inhabited island is less than one square mile in area, the typical islander lives on a island that contains in excess of ten square miles of territory.

The Population Trend

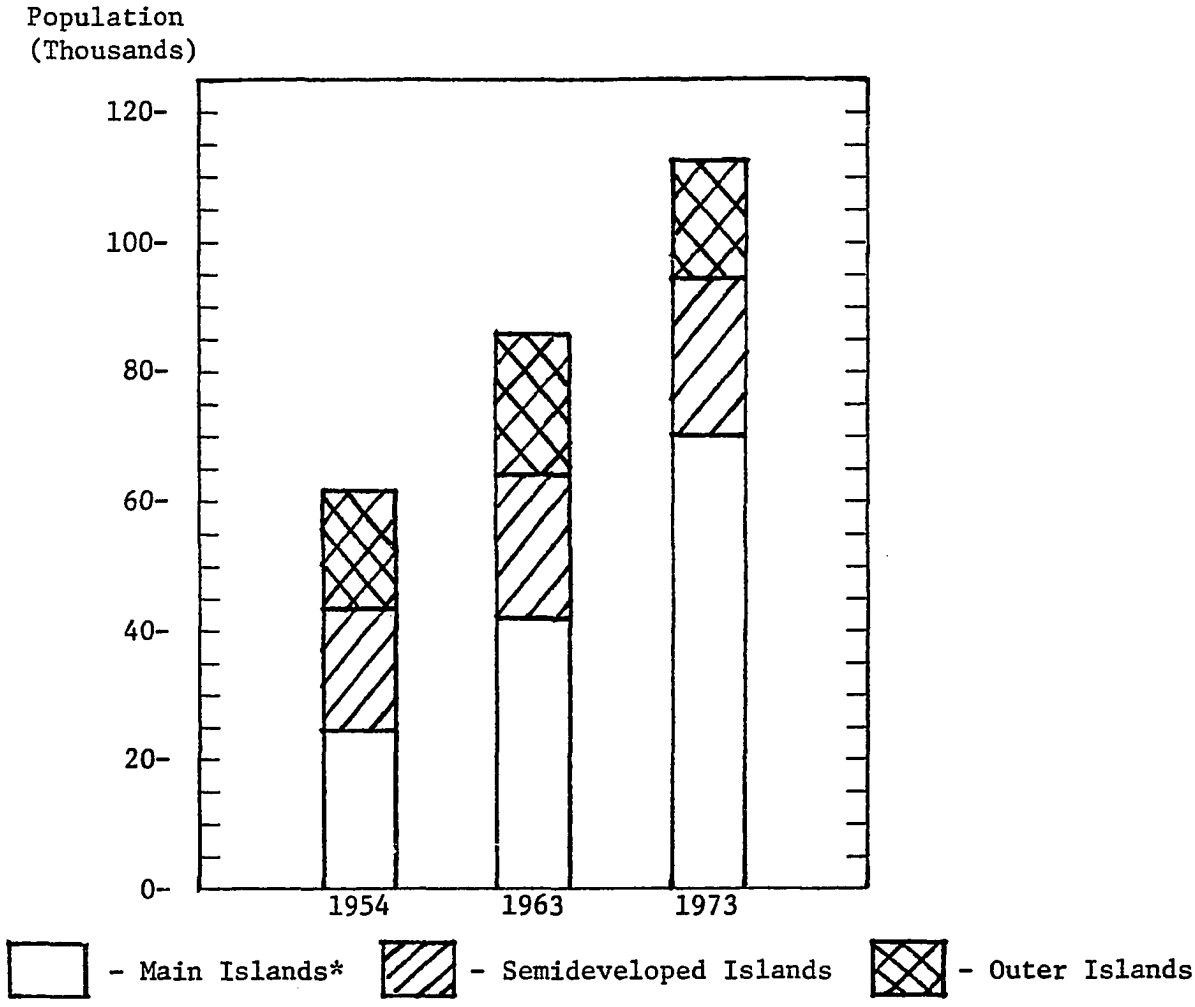
The comparative growth of populations among these islands is at least as significant for political development as their current status. In developing nations, everywhere, the process of development has resulted in shifts of population from the underdeveloped areas to the urban centers or development enclaves. Micronesia is no exception to this rule, as as figure 1 illustrates. The population increase in Saipan and the other main islands is quite striking in contrast to the relative stagnation of the populations of the islands in the other two categories.

As can be seen in figure 1, the main islands' percentage of the total population of Micronesia has increased from 42.7 percent in 1954 to 61.5 percent in 1973. During that same period, the percentage represented by the semi-developed group has declined from 29.9 percent to 21.7 percent, though the actual number of inhabitants in that group has increased by more than 6,000.

Also during that period, the relative percentage of the population living in the outer islands has decreased from 27.4 percent to 16.6 percent. While it shows a modest increase in actual population of 2,075 for the period since 1954, the outer islands' population actually decreased by 2,800 in the period of 1963 to 1973.

Figure 1

Populations of Main Islands, Semideveloped Islands, Outer Islands and the Totals for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands for the Years 1954, 1966 and 1973, in Thousands



*Includes Saipan

SOURCE: Annual Reports to the United Nations for the years 1954, 1963, and the census tables for 1973.

At this point, it could not justifiably be said that the outer islands are becoming depopulated. It can be said that the main islands have siphoned off the population growth, while the populations of the other islands have remained relatively stagnant, at least to date. During the period in question, the main islands' population grew by 165 percent, compared with 84 percent for the Trust Territory as a whole, 33.8 percent for the semideveloped group, and 12.4 percent for the outer islands.

These trends reflect the influence of the concentration of governmental activity and economic development in a few, generally the larger, islands. There are very real prospects that serious economic development will be extended to some of the islands in the semideveloped group. This is particularly likely in the case of Babledaob in Palau, now that it is connected by bridge to the district center island of Koror. Rota and Tinian in the Mariana Islands are also likely targets for further development. Less likely, but still possible, targets for development are the larger, less developed islands in the Truk lagoon.

It is difficult to see any significant economic development in the remote outer islands. This remoteness and the meagerness of their land and natural resources seem to preclude serious economic development in these islands. While they apparently supported substantially larger populations than at present during their precontact days, it was a spartan existence in comparison with the life style to which they have been introduced during American occupation.

Summary

It is possible to distinguish at least four stages of development among the islands of Micronesia, based on the two factors of

government involvement and geography. The term "development," as used here, refers to two interrelated and interdependent processes of economic development and acculturation. The process of economic development creates a progressively greater reliance of the people on money incomes and provides more and more opportunities for their participation in the money economy. Acculturation is the process by which the people progressively take on the culture of another group. With economic and political development comes strong pressure for cultural change, for adoption of the attitudes, values, and behaviors that are considered appropriate in the newly introduced institutional environment.

The relative acculturation of the various island groups included in this study can be measured by such indices as the incidence of traditional dress (i.e., the breechcloth or thū for men and the grass skirt or woven fibre lava-lava for women); the relative position of traditional leaders (chiefs, clan, or lineage heads) in the society; and the extent to which individual and community behavior is still governed by traditional rules or prescriptions.

The relative extent of economic development can be measured by such indices as the percentage of the work force that is employed for wages; the percentage of the wage earning population that is engaged in private employment; the extent and conditions of roads, harbor facilities, public utilities, public buildings, health facilities, schools, and other public facilities; the prevalence of stores, hotels, theatres, and service industries; the availability and frequency of air and water transportation; and the availability of telegraph, telephone, radio, and television systems.

The phenomena of economic development and acculturation are closely related, since change in the character of economic activity characteristically has a profound impact on other aspects of culture. For example, patterns of land usage and ownership are most likely to be altered by changes in the types of economic enterprise in which people engage. This is especially true when the change is from a traditional subsistence agriculture, based on communal ownership and production units. In addition, the introduction of money wages and profits alters authority and dependency relationships in the social system.

On the other hand, the relationship between the dimensions of economic development and acculturation is not completely parallel. For example, people in the group of islands known as the Mortlock Islands in Truk district are decidedly more acculturated than are those in the outer islands of Yap, although the former islands are no more economically developed than are the latter. As Gladwin points out, the greater acculturation of the Mortlockese can be explained by geographic and historic circumstances which are independent of economic development. In terms of both distance and prevailing winds, the Mortlock Islands are more accessible and, historically, have had more foreign contact, through the nearby Truk lagoon (one of the centers of foreign contact), than have the outer islands of the Yap district.[17]

On both dimensions, acculturation and economic development, two of the four island groups selected for comparative study (part II), the Mariana Islands and the outer islands of Yap district, probably represent

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[17]Thomas Gladwin and Seymour B. Sarason, Truk: Man in Paradise, Viking Fund Publication in Anthropology, no. 20 (New York: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Inc., 1950), p. 36.

the polar extremes for all of Micronesia. There is no doubt that the Mariana Islands, in general, and Saipan, in particular, are the most economically developed and thoroughly acculturated islands in Micronesia. The outer islands of Yap are certainly among the least developed and acculturated islands, if not actually the least on both dimensions. Also included in the comparative study are the district center islands of Truk and Yap districts, which occupy intermediate stages on both dimensions. The four island groups will be compared, specifically, in terms of the indices of development and acculturation (above) in chapter seven.

CHAPTER III

THE TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY SYSTEMS OF MICRONESIA

The Meaning of Traditional

There is a certain degree of ambiguity that is unavoidable in the use of the term traditional in describing a Micronesian society. In the Weberian sense of the term, a traditional society is one in which tradition is the authority underlying rules of behavior and it is the basis of legitimacy. Authority is exercised by certain persons and according to certain rules because these represent accepted ways, handed down from the past. This kind of authority system stands in opposition to a legal-rational system in which authority and the rules under which it operates are perceived as instrumental, as effective means of optimizing a society's values.

In the sense of these defintions, all societies are traditional and all are, to some degree, legal-rational. The authority of tradition is a powerful sanction in all societies. Likewise, authority and the uses to which it is directed are justified in terms of rational goals of the society, to some degree, in all societies. Societies are classified as traditional or legal-rational according to the relative emphasis given to each of these two components as bases of authority. Differences are matters of degree.

Ambiguity lies not so much in the meaning of these terms as in the conditions of the societies to which they are applied. To describe a society as "traditional" conjures up a vision of a community that is static and unchanging over a long period of time. There is a particular tendency to think of "primitive societies," such as the isolated island communities of Micronesia, in this way. Yet, for reasons that have already been touched upon, the societies of Micronesia have experienced change over time.

In fact, it is often difficult to say with any certainty how ancient or recent are the origins of a given social position or custom. Certain social institutions, such as men's lodges or menstrual huts, may be assumed to be of ancient origin, since these are common features of numerous societies, throughout the area of Oceania. Some structural changes in Micronesian societies are known to have been created by the Spanish, Germans, or Japanese for their own administrative convenience, yet these have taken on the character of tradition with the passage of time.

When the term traditional is used, herein, to describe any aspect of Micronesian culture, it does not imply that it had its origins in any particular period in time. It means simply that it represents some continuity with the past; it has taken on some of the authority of tradition.

It is most accurate to speak of Micronesian cultures in the plural. They exhibit great variation in many of their features. Yet, in another sense, it is correct to speak of Micronesian culture in the singular. There are many broad characteristics of culture that seem to

be universal in Micronesia. Micronesian authority systems, like other aspects of culture, exhibit both variations and common traits.

Ecological Influences on Traditional Authority Systems

A culture is an adaptive system. It is a man-made environment. It encompasses all of the unique ways in which a society comes to grips with the imperatives of feeding, clothing, sheltering, and protecting its members from both natural disasters and human enemies. As unique ways of dealing with problems are learned, repeated, taught, and transmitted to others, they gradually take on a fixed character. Social customs, technology, religion, authority relationships, and belief systems all evolve together into an integrated pattern, which is called a culture.

Environment does not rigidly determine the character of a culture, but it influences and sets limits on the types of adaptations that are possible. A number of scholars have pointed out that conditions for survival on a small island or atoll are marginal.[1] Soil covering is limited and of poor quality. The food that can be taken from the sea requires considerable time and effort. The most efficient and productive techniques of fishing are those that require groups of people working together. Natural disasters that can destroy food supplies are an ever-present threat. The sharing of food and labor, mutual help, and cooperation of all kinds are essential to survival. It is often noted that most of the Micronesian island societies developed at a time when populations were much larger than they are at present, in some cases many times larger.

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[1]For example, William A. Less, Ulithi, A Micronesian Design for Living, pp. 12-15.

Under such circumstances, the imperatives of cooperation and sharing would have loomed even larger than in more recent times.

Mutual dependence on the sharing of food and labor is believed to account for the highly cooperative character of these societies and for the subordination of the individual to the group. On the other hand, there is no incentive for work beyond what is needed to supply primary needs. Food is the most important commodity and, for the most part, it cannot be long preserved. Therefore, acquisitiveness is not a strong incentive to work. A good worker is honored, not for his wealth, but for the way in which his work benefits his kinsmen.[2]

David Schneider points out that in an island society, where work is largely undifferentiated, there are very few ways by which statuses can be differentiated. For this reason, status is a scarce commodity. It tends to be jealously guarded. In every status category, the number of eligibles is limited by ascriptive criteria of lineage, age, and sex. Men and women have to wait many years for an opportunity to attain status. Schneider suggests that the great freedom from responsibility allowed the young and the permissive standards of sexual behavior that characterize Micronesian society are necessary compensations which make the denial of status tolerable to the young adults.[3]

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[2]William Lessa and Marvin Spiegelman, Ulithian Personality as Seen Through Ethnological Materials and Thematic Apperception Tests, University of California Publications in Culture and Society, vol. 2, no. 5 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1954), p. 244.

[3]David M. Schneider, "Abortion and Depopulation on a Pacific Island," in Peoples and Cultures of the Pacific, ed. Andrew P. Vayda, published for the American Museum of Natural History, Garden City, N.J.: Natural History Press, 1968), pp. 396-97.

Leonard Mason has related the development of suprafamilial authority systems in the islands of Micronesia with the production and distribution of economic surpluses. He suggests that the fact that the environmental conditions on the high islands foster the production of larger surpluses accounts, in part, for the fact that these high islands exhibit more complex social systems than do the lower islands. In all islands, the scarcity of land and interfamilial disputes over its ownership also create needs for suprafamilial authority.[4]

Alkire suggests that environmental factors encourage the development of interisland social ties. Among these factors he includes the scarcity of land, the limited range of crops which can be grown, the hazards and uncertainties of fishing, and--most importantly--the destructive effect of typhoons which occasionally ravage the islands. These conditions encourage the development of trading relationships and mutual assistance in times of need.[5]

As the people of Micronesia came under the governance of outsiders, certain environmental changes occurred which called for new cultural adaptations. Their natural world did not materially change but the conditions of dependency on the natural world were modified. The new alien rulers brought an end to warfare among the Micronesian peoples and took responsibility for relief from the effects of natural disasters. New trade goods were introduced which could be obtained by the sale of

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[4]Leonard Mason, "Suprafamilial Authority and Economic Process in Micronesian Atolls," in Peoples and Cultures of the Pacific, ed. Andrew P. Vayda, pp. 299-329.

[5]William H. Alkire, Lamotrek Atoll and Inter-island Socio-econoimc Ties, (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1965), p. 2.

copra for cash. Interisland communication was facilitated. New kinds of statuses based on different criteria were introduced. Of course, these changes were not uniformly introduced but at different times, with different degrees of intensity in the different areas of Micronesia.

Micronesian Authority Systems: General Characteristics

The following is a general description of traditional authority relationships in Micronesian societies, with some indication of the extent of local variations. The use of the present tense in describing what *is* traditional does not mean that any present day Micronesian society will be found to completely conform to this description. The societies of the more remote islands will still be found to conform in many respects. Even where the greatest degree of change has occurred, behavior and attitudes towards authority will still reflect much of the substance, if not the form, of tradition.[6]

Basis of Status

One of the characteristics of Micronesian traditional authority systems is that status is allocated on the basis of ascriptive criteria. In general, the criteria are the same for all Micronesian societies, although status differences are more pronounced in some societies than they are in others.

The community authority structure is an upward extension of the family authority structure. In general, this means that one's position in the community authority structure depends on his position in the family.

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[6]None of the descriptions which follows is applicable to the special case of the Mariana Islands, where the traditional island culture has been thoroughly replaced for well over two hundred years. See ch. 8.

Within the family, or the extended family, one's position depends on his age, sex, order of birth, and line of descent. The senior male is the head of a family. The head of the ranking family is the head of the lineage. The head of the ranking lineage is the head of the clan.

In most Micronesian societies, descent is matrilineal. This means that one is identified more closely with, and inherits through, his mother's line. The heir to a leadership position is not the leader's son but (if not his brother) his oldest sister's oldest son. His own son could not inherit because he is considered a member of his own mother's family, not his father's.

These are the general principles. They do not mean that there is normally only one possible claimant to a position or that succession is automatic. It is possible, for example, that both a deceased leader's nephew (i.e., sister's son) and the oldest of his surviving brothers may be logical successors. Even if one has a clearly superior claim, he may be passed over if the second in line seems to have better qualities of leadership. The succession must be confirmed by a council of the elders.

Although the oldest female in any generation enjoys special prestige and influence, because of her importance in establishing the line of descent, the head of a family, lineage, or clan is a male. There is at least one exception to that rule, namely the case of Majuro in the Marshall Islands. In Majuro, the successor to position of lineage head is the current head's oldest sibling or the oldest sister's oldest child, whether male or female.[7]

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[7]Alexander Spoehr, Majuro, A Village in the Marshall Islands, Fieldiana: Anthropology, no. 39 (Chicago: The Natural History Museum, November 17, 1949), p. 157.

In Palau there is a women's hierarchy of titled statuses, which parallels the hierarchy of male leaders. These titled women exercise authority over the other women of lower rank. Although these senior women are accorded outward signs of respect by the men, they have no authority with respect to the men. The titled women are subordinate to the chiefs, who are always men.[8]

Kin groups include the nuclear family, the extended family, the lineage, and the clan. A single household may consist of a nuclear family or, more often, an extended family.

The lineage is a very significant group. It is a corporate, landowning group whose members trace their descent through a common known female ancestress. All adult members of the lineage are entitled to land. The most important decisions are those related to the distribution of land. These are collective decisions, but the clan head has much influence over such matters. Ultimate title to all of its land is retained by the lineage, although individuals have definite use rights for life. No single individual can alienate lineage land or property. The tradition that the consent of the lineage head to a marriage was required is, no doubt, related to the fact that a new family creates a new claim on land. It was also related to the incest taboo, since the lineage head is expected to have an authoritative knowledge of the ancestry of the group. Membership in a lineage involves obligations to contribute labor on common land, to exchange food and labor among family members, as needed, and to contribute food and labor on such special occasions as weddings, funerals, and ceremonial feasts.

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[8]H. G. Barnett, Being a Palauan (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1961), pp. 19-20.

A clan is also a kin group. However, clans are so large and widely dispersed that, among the distantly related, the only knowledge of the relationship is the fact of common clan membership. The clan is a noncorporate, non-landowning group. Although it is not an organized group, members are united by a strong sentimental tie and membership entails obligations of hospitality. With the development of district-wide elective offices, clan membership has become politically very significant.

Within the family, males take precedence over females, brothers over sisters, and older siblings over younger siblings. The lineage and clan are exogamous, and even distant relatives fall under the incest taboo. Within the mother's lineage, members of one's own generation are called by the same terms as one's own brothers and sisters. In at least some cultures, all members of one's father's lineage are addressed by the same term as one's father and mother, regardless of their age or generation. After reaching puberty, a relationship of formality exists between siblings, both real and classificatory, of the opposite sex. Joking is taboo, particularly references even remotely related to sex or elimination, when speaking to these real and classificatory brothers and sisters or to one's cross-sexed parent. After reaching puberty, a young man cannot sleep under the same roof with one he addresses as "sister."[9]

In addition to age and sex, specific kinship relations are important in defining status and authority within the family and lineage. One's mother's brother commands particular respect and often assumes the role of disciplinarian. A man is usually financially obligated to his wife's family, particularly his wife's oldest brother. The importance

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[9]William A. Lessa, Ulithi, A Micronesian Design for Living, pp. 23-26.

of the oldest sister has already been mentioned. After they are weaned, children are usually under the care and authority of older siblings. The oldest brother in a family is often called upon by parents to administer punishment to the other children.

Terms of respect are used and obedience is due to any adult within the lineage of one's parent's generation. Respect is also due to members of one's father's generation in his lineage, although the relationship is generally not as close as with members of the matrilineage. Although one's membership is in the mother's lineage and this membership is the most important determinant of status, it is not at all uncommon for a family to reside with the father's lineage. In such cases, the personal relationship with the father's family will be the closest.

Since land is the communal property of the lineage, the lineage is the most important social unit. This fact enhances the authority of lineage heads and helps to perpetuate the traditional social system in the face of all pressures for cultural change.

Personal wealth and property (especially food) is expected to be shared and failure to share meets with strong disapproval. This extends to such personal property as clothing and jewelry. An older brother, or cousin, may be able to refuse to share with a younger, but the reverse is seldom true.

The Community Authority System

As previously stated, the community (suprafamilial) authority structure is an upward extension of the family authority structure. Representation in community councils is by family, lineage, or clan, in the person of the head of that unit or its senior male members.

In any community, the families, lineages, and clans are ranked. A village or district chief is normally the head of the highest ranking lineage or clan. As with the kin groups, succession to the position of chief is not automatic and must be confirmed by the elders in council. Micronesians have generally explained the social ranking of clans and lineages in terms of the order in which they setttled the island in question. The founding ancestress of the first clan to arrive initially held title to all of the land. Later arrivals presumably received land by a grant of title from the first arrivals.

The criteria by which leaders are selected will sometimes conflict. At the time of his study of Lamotrek Atoll, Alkire found that a woman was paramount chief (tamol). This was very unusual and very much in conflict with the strong tradition that a chief is a man. On the other hand, she was the sole surviving member of the subclan from which the chief was supposed to be chosen. In this case, the criterion of family was given preference over the criterion of sex.[10]

The traditional political communities of Micronesia are characteristically small. A political community may consist of a single village, a small island, or a district, which might encompass two or more islands or a subdivision of a large island. The only inhabited island of the atoll of Etal, in the Mortlock Islands of Truk, for example, has the appearance of a single continuous village. It has a population of over 300 and an area of seven-tenths of a square mile. It consists of two discrete political districts. This kind of political fragmentation is not unusual in Micronesia.[11]

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[10]William H. Alkire, Lamotrek Atoll. . ., p. 36.

[11]James D. Nason, "Political Change, An Outer Island Perspective," in Political Development in Micronesia, ed. Daniel T. Hughes and Sherwood

The island of Ponope, on the other hand, which has 129 square miles of land area, is subdivided into five autonomous political states. Each one of the five states is larger in area than are most of the inhabited islands of Micronesia.

Land is an important element in the status system. As noted above, clans, subclans, and lineages are ranked, presumably, in terms of the order in which they migrated into their islands of residence. In Ponope, the people attribute the relative ranking or prestige of the five districts to the order in which they threw off control by invaders from Kosrae. Since they are politically autonomous, this inputed rank has no purpose except for protocol.[12]

In the Marshall Islands, the clans are divided into social classes. The social system somewhat resembles that of western feudalism. The western terms of royalty, nobility, and commoner have sometimes been used to describe the social classes. The paramount chief (iroij labalab) must come from the "royal" class (iroij). Each of the three classes has certain traditional rights with resepct to the land. The "commoners" (kajur) till and harvest the land. The iroij labalab and the "nobility" (bwirak) are each entitled to share, with the commoners, in the produce.

The Micronesian societies exhibit great variation in the relative complexity of their social systems and in the degree of their social stratification. In Ponope, each of the five states is under the dual leadership of two high chiefs (the Nanmarki and Naniken), each of whom

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G. Lingenfelter (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1975), p. 125.

[12]John L. and Ann M. Fischer, The Eastern Carolines, Behavior Science Monographs (New Haven, Conn.: Human Relations Area Files Press, 1970), p. 172.

heads a separate and parallel line of titled chiefs. In each line, the first twelve titles are considered particularly important.[13] The positions of nanmarki and naniken are roughly analogous to the positions of king and prime minister, in terms of their functions. The nanmarki is considered more prestigious. The naniken presides at public gatherings and presents others to the nanmarki. This system also has resemblances to feudalism, with title to all land, theoretically, held by the nanmarki.

The social systems of the Marshall Islands, Ponope, and Yap are certainly among the most stratified and complex in Micronesia. The Yap island complex has the only social system in Micronesia to which the term caste is commonly applied. Truk, on the other hand, stands out as the island group with the simplest native political organization.[14]

Although traditional Micronesian societies are characteristically small, politically autonomous communities, there are institutionalized ways of cooperation and interaction throughout a region. These might involve military alliances, disaster relief, or regular trading relationships. Where warfare, family vendettas, or other disputes arose between jurisdictions, the chiefs would have to meet to resolve the differences. They would bring together the offending and aggrieved parties and resolve the question of appropriate restitution.

The Character of Authority Relationships

To the casual observer, the traditional social systems of Micronesia might appear to be quite autocratic. Yet, young educated

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[13] Paul L. Garvin and Saul H. Riesenberg, "Respect Behavior in Ponope, An Ethnolinguistic Study," American Anthropologist 54 (1952): 201-20.

[14] John L. and Ann M. Fischer, The Eastern Carolines, p. 170.

Micronesian informants often will maintain that the traditional Micronesian social systems are "more democratic" than the new political system imported from and modelled on that of the United States.

The impression that the Micronesian social system is autocratic is based on the conspicuous air of deference in the behavior exhibited by Micronesians towards their traditional leaders. The claim that the native Micronesian social system is inherently democratic is based on the process of decision making by consensus, which characterizes the society. Most authorities agree that Micronesian traditional leaders, while they have great power and influence, are not autocrats. In Lingenfelter's words:

> Decision making in Yap is rarely, if ever, a one-man affair. The power of a chief is always by the power of the puruy 'council' of important leaders in the village.
>
> Decisions of the council are reached by consensus. Issues are discussed until public consensus is reached, or until consensus is deemed impossible and the issue is dropped.[15]

Alkire describes the process on Lamotrek as follows:

> After the opening remarks each of the remaining clan chiefs will discuss his position, then call on the next senior men to state their feelings. . . . Each . . . will either comment on his position or, if he has none, pass without discussion . . . a decision depends on implied unanimity of opinion. If any disagreement remained such a decision would be postponed.[16]

Some studies of Micronesian societies do seem to emphasize the authority of traditional leaders more than do the above. For example, Burrows and Spiro speak of Ifaluk Atoll as being under the rule of the chiefs. Matters of concern to the entire atoll are said to be decided by the five atoll chiefs. Those pertaining to only one locality are said to

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[15]Sherwood G. Lingenfelter, Yap: Political Leadership and Cultural Change in an Island Society (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1975), pp. 114-15.

[16]William H. Alkire, Lamotrek Atoll. . ., pp. 35-36.

be decided by one or two chiefs. Decisions are made according to traditional rules, but when a situation not covered by a rule arises, the chiefs decide, according to their best judgment.[17]

Differences such as these in anthropological studies may reflect very substantial differences among the Micronesian communities. On the other hand, the differences may be more in the emphasis and interpretation of the systems by the researchers than in the systems themselves.

Some researchers suggest that, while the chiefs are not autocrats, they once were. For example, Spoehr suggests that an iroij labalab in Majuro once had the power to dispossess a commoner of his land but can no longer do so.

> In former times, the social distinctions that underlay this class system were very real indeed. The paramount chief was possessed of autocratic powers that were shared to a lesser extent by the nobility.[18]

Even when a chief is merely expressing the consensus of the elders, it is his prerogative to announce the decision. If he is a strong personality, he can exercise considerable control through his control of the agenda and the questions he puts to the group. Some decisions are reserved to the chiefs by tradition. On Ponope, for example, the nanmarki and naniken distribute the food contributed by titled men and confer titles on their followers.

According to Swartz, traditional leaders on Truk are reluctant to take sole responsibility for decisions.

> Although everyone agrees that, should the lineage head make a definite decision on any issue affecting the

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[17] Edwin G. Burrows and Melford E. Spire, An Atoll Culture, Ethnography of Ifaluk in the Central Carolines, Behavior Science Monographs (New Haven, Conn: Human Relations Area Files, 1953), pp. 186-89.

[18] Alexander Spoehr, Majuro, A Village in the Marshall Islands, p. 78.

> lineage, its property or its personnel, that decision would be carried out, lineage heads hardly ever make such decisions. When conflicts arise, say, between brothers, the head of the lineage temporizes and implores them to patch up their difficulties. . . . Similarly, the head is often reluctant to embark on lineage projects and will ask his lineage-mates' opinions repeatedly before undertaking the most trivial and routine joint enterprise. . . .[19]

Swartz attributes this reluctance to make decisions to two factors. One is the desire to avoid the appearance of haughty behavior, which is very much disapproved even for leaders. The second factor is that a lineage head expects to be replaced when his physical powers have declined to the point that he can no longer carry his share of the work. He wishes to avoid giving offense to those on whom he will later depend.

> To be humble even when one has the power over others is perhaps the most meritorious thing a man can do, so that most lineage heads virtually give up their political roles and use their current status as a preparation for the status of senile dependent.[20]

The Decision Making Process

As the above quotations from the works of Lingenfelter and Alkire indicate, in Micronesian societies decisions are made by consensus, meaning according to the rule of unanimity. If consensus is not possible, the matter in question is postponed or dropped. This does not mean literally that every single participant must agree with a decision or no action is taken. It is considered bad manners for one person to insist on his own viewpoint in the face of a general consensus. One will not do so unless he feels very strongly on the issue, in which case his feelings are likely

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[19]Marc Swartz, "Personality and Structure: Political Acquiescence in Truk," in Induced Political Change in the Pacific, A Symposium, ed. Roland W. Force (Honolulu, Hawaii: Bishop Museum Press, 1965), p. 24.

[20]Ibid., p. 25.

to be respected. In general, a person is expected to go along with the group consensus. However, a majority would not force a decision on a reluctant minority.

It is this tradition of decision making by consensus which underlies the claim that the traditional society is more democratic than the new system of representative government. There is no disputing that there is more real popular participation in decisions in the traditional village government than there is in the new system. In village government, participation is not only direct, it is in terms that are understandable and it deals with problems that the villagers are competent to decide. The typical villager observing a Micronesian legislature would find it difficult to understand either the terms of discussion or, in many cases, the issues in dispute.

On the other hand, in the traditional councils the participants usually do not include the entire adult population. Depending on the particular society concerned, the occasion, or the political level (i.e., village, district, region), the participants may include all of the mature men and women of the village, only the mature males, only the lineage heads, or only the village chiefs.

In Ulithi, a village council includes all middle-aged men. Although they cannot participate, young men may sit on one side as spectators.[21] This is also true on Lamotrek, except that there is one meeting each year of the entire adult population (both men and women). The women speak, in order of seniority, after the men have spoken.[22]

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[21] William A. Lessa, Ulithi, A Micronesian Design for Living, p. 32.

[22] William H. Alkire, Lamotrek Atoll . . ., p. 35-36.

In Yap, only the ranking estate leaders may speak in a village council. A lower-ranking individual, who wishes to express an opinion, whispers it to his leader who then relays the thought to the general meeting.[23]

It is likely that any member of village society can participate to some degree in decision making, at least through influencing those who speak for the lineage in the village council. However, full participation is normally limited to middle-aged males. Younger men are not considered sufficiently mature. The term gerontocracy has been used to describe Micronesian authority systems.

The decision making process reflects the high value that Micronesians place on maintaining harmony in the group. Open expressions of conflict are disapproved. The traditional chief is expected to preside with "impartiality, dignity and decorum." He allows free discussion by members and is guided and corrected by them.

> Ulithians are fond of decorum. A person with a desire for fame has no place in the society and would be withered with silence should he disport himself with passioned oratory or anything else that might appear to be ostentatious.[24]

Speakers are reluctant to commit themselves until they sense the emerging consensus of the group. For this reason, discussions are marked by considerable circumlocution.[25]

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[23]Sherwood G. Lingenfelter, Yap: Political Leadership and Cultural Change, p. 114.

[24]William A. Lessa, Ulithi, A Micronesian Design for Living, p. 32.

[25]Sherwood G. Lingenfelter, Yap: Political Leadership and Cultural Change, p. 114.

Deference Behavior

Micronesians exhibit great deference in their behavior towards their traditional leaders. One of the most prominent forms of deference behavior is the lowering of the head when passing before a chief. Traditionally, one approached on one's knees, if necessary, to insure that one's head was not above the level of the chief's head.

Much deference behavior is practiced within the family. In Carolinian or Trukese families, women lower their heads when passing before their brothers or other senior males. An older sibling or cousin may claim any property belonging to a younger member of his generation. In the Yapese family, certain areas of the house are reserved to the father. Certain areas of garden are reserved for raising his food, since he cannot eat food from the same plot as used by women who have not passed menopause. He may only be served by a woman who has passed menopause.

In a number of Micronesian societies, young women are prohibited from walking on certain paths which are used by the chief and the elders. A paramount chief may eat in the company of only certain senior males. A chief is entitled to the first fruits of every harvest and a share in every catch of fish. In meetings, the ranking chief must open the meeting and speak first, followed by others in order of rank. In Ponope, the nanmarki sits in the center of a raised platform above the level of his followers, with other ranking individuals seated to his right and left. Failure to show the required deference towards superiors, called respect by the Micronesians, meets with strong disapproval, even public censure.

Qualities of Leadership

Some of the qualities expected of traditional leaders are clear from what has been stated above. Maintaining the harmony of the

group is a primary value. For this reason, patience, decorum, courtesy, and impartiality are valued traits in leaders.

A chief, or lineage head, is often called upon to judge disputes between families or between members of the lineage. He is responsible to see that wrongs are righted and that offenders make restitution. He must be judicious and wise. He is expected to be knowledgeable about customs, traditions, and geneologies. This is particularly important in settling disputes about individual rights, inheritances, and land ownership.

A good leader is perceived as one who cares about his community and its people. In a survey of 300 Ponopeans, Hughes found "love of people" to be the most valued trait in leaders.[26] Micronesians interviewed in the course of this study have generally agreed that "caring about the people" is the most important trait of good leaders.

Knowledge as a Source of Status

As stated before, in traditional Micronesian societies, status was ascribed on the basis of such characteristics as family, age, and sex. However, it was possible for a limited number of persons to achieve status through the mastery of additional knowledge and skills, including canoe making, navigation, healing, and divination. These provides only limited social mobility since a person had to be selected by the skilled practitioner for training in these arts. Novices were usually selected from the family or lineage of the practitioner. Since the specialized

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[26]Daniel T. Hughes, "Obstacles to the Integration of the District Legislature into Ponopean Society," in Political Development in Micronesia, ed. Daniel T. Hughes and Sherwood Lingenfelter (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1974), p. 104.

knowledge and skills were the source of status and power to their possessors, they did not undertake to teach their understudies until they (the practitioners) were quite advanced in age.

An occasional exception to this rule was the case of a diviner. Divination is a process of consulting ancestral ghosts to learn the source of a malady or to learn if the time was propitious for undertaking a venture. It is the ghost who selects the family member he is to "possess" for purposes of communication between the family and the supernatural world. Anyone could be a diviner. The claim to the power of divination is self validating.

With the introduction of a wage economy and modern technology, many of the traditional skills have become obsolete in many islands and have fallen into disuse. This has greatly reduced the limited number of achieved statuses available within the traditional society.

Summary

In spite of many variations in Micronesian traditional authority systems, there appears to be a broad general pattern that can properly be called "Micronesian." The structure consists of a system of ranked statuses, based on family, kin group, age, and sex. The community structure is an upward extension of the family authority structure.

There is relatively little opportunity for anyone to achieve status, other than that which flowed naturally from his position in the family, age, and sex based hierarchy. There were a limited number of statuses that were based on specialized knowledge and skill--such as canoe making, navigation, healing, and divination. Since knowledge and skill were sources of status, access was carefully guarded and novices were not admitted to training until advanced middle age.

It is possible to explain this system as a natural adaptation of a tropical environment with a subsistence economy. Though nature provides adequately, the subsistence needs of all cannot be assured without considerable cooperative effort. Land is scarce and communal ownership insures that all will have an opportunity to share. In such an environment, there is little in a material way to distinguish the higher from the lower statuses. Only a few specialized skills exist as a basis of differential status. In such circumstances, status may be especially prized because it is a scarce commodity.

As David Schneider suggests, for such a system to work, there must be rules governing who has status and who does not, and these rules must be obeyed. One consequence is that some people must wait many years to achieve status and some never achieve it at all. To make the system bearable, there must be rewards to compensate those who must wait. Schneider suggests that nonresponsible early adulthood and the permissive attitudes towards youthful love affairs provide these compensations.[27]

For the status system to work, it is also necessary to inculcate attitudes and behavior in the young which support the authority system. To see how this is done, it is necessary to consider the child rearing practices and to see how appropriate behavior is reinforced by the social environment throughout the life cycle.

In the comparative analysis of traditional authority systems in chapter eight, it will be possible to examine the socialization process in the selected political subcultures in some detail. Several of

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[27]David M. Schneider, "Abortion and Depopulation on a Pacific Island," in Peoples and Cultures of the Pacific, ed. Andrew P. Vayda Garden City, N.Y.: The Natural History Press, 1968), pp. 396-97.

the studies conducted during the Coordinated Investigations of Micronesian Anthropology, mentioned in chapter four,[28] employed the projective techniques associated with the culture and personality school. This emphasis naturally compelled the investigators to pay particular attention to child rearing practices and to the socialization process, in general. It is fortunate that, of five such studies, four were conducted in islands included among the subcultures selected for comparative study.

In general, it can be seen that Micronesian societies have the attributes associated with Weber's and Parsons's typologies of traditional society. Both the wielders of authority and the rules governing its use are legitimated by tradition, as in Weber's ideal type.

In accordance with Parsons's description of the typical value orientation of traditional society, status criteria in Micronesia are largely ascriptive, not achievement based. Authority is diffuse, not functionally differentiated, and is concentrated in the occupants of a few leadership roles.

Primary loyalties are particularistic, not universalistic, directed towards the family, kin group, and local village. There is little or no sense of identification with wider communities, even within a culturally homogeneous region.

Community activities are affectivity oriented, that is, they are directed towards the immediate gratification of needs. There is little need nor inclination to subordinate immediate gratification to collective goals.

The traditional political orientations of members of these societies would clearly be classed as parochial political cultures under

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[28]These were a number of studies financed jointly by the Office of Naval Research and the Pacific Science Board of the Naval Research Council. See also chapter 4.

the Almond and Verba classification scheme. To the extent that these societies retain their traditional character, the members will exhibit very limited awareness of the general political system. There will be little evidence of cognitive, affective, or expressive orientations towards it. They will expect little or nothing from the political system.

They may have expectations of a limited nature with respect to certain outputs of the political system. They are aware of receiving certain benefits from the system. There is nothing in their experience that would cause them to have positive orientations towards the input processes or towards themselves as active participants in the system.

The emphases in the traditional society on status, on the group, on consensus, on harmony, on seniority, on deference to authority, and on avoidance of conflict would not seem to be conducive to a sense of personal control over one's life space. At least, the area of one's life space that is subject to one's personal control would be quite restricted in such a society.

In Micronesian traditional society there is, realistically, some opportunity for participation in lineage or village decisions (limited by age, sex, and other status criteria); but there is no basis for feeling that the general political system (the Trust Territory government) is relevant to one's control over his life space. Thus, in terms of Renshon's two criteria for political efficacy, personal control and political salience, it could not be expected that Micronesians would have the sense of political efficacy needed for an effective participant political culture.

These expectations apply, as stated above, to the extent that these societies retain their traditional character. As indicated in

chapter two, there is great variation in the strength of tradition among the Micronesian societies. In general, the strength and persistence of tradition is inversely related to the degree of economic development which these societies have experienced and the accompanying pressure for acculturation.

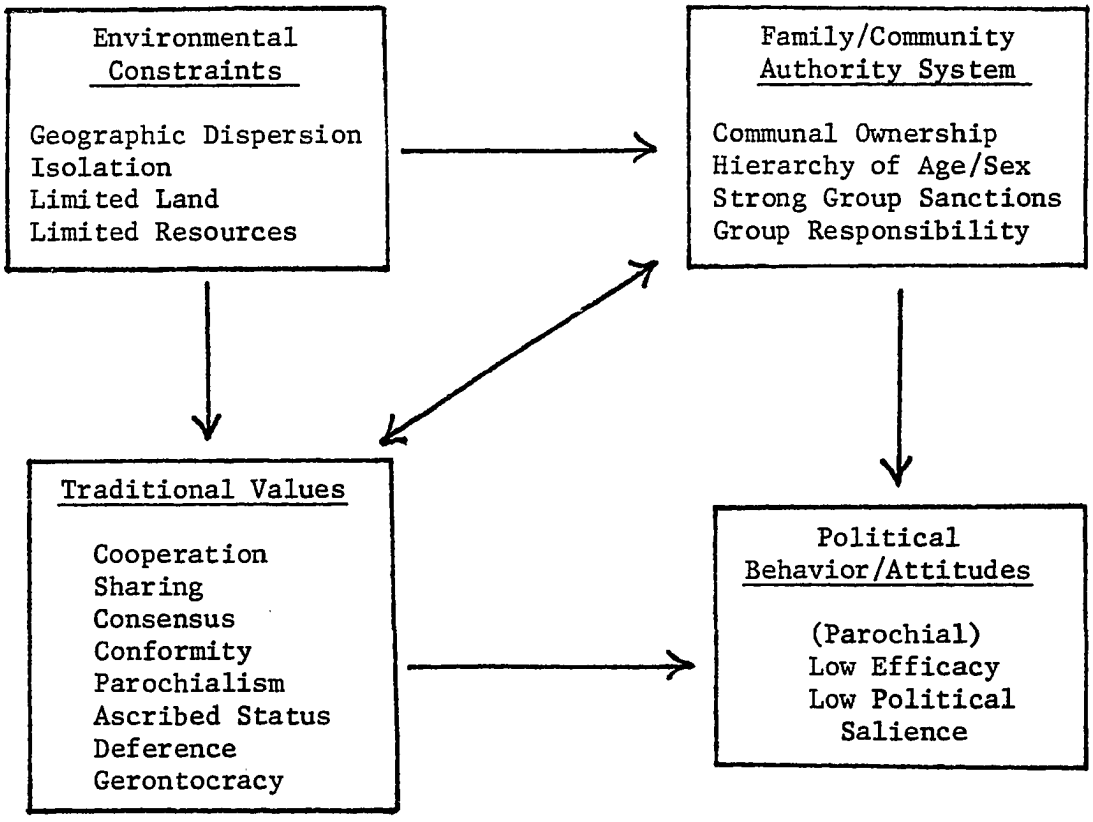
The extent to which the contemporary political cultures actually reflect traditional attitudes, values, and behavior and how these reflect the above expectations with respect to personal control and political efficacy will be examined in chapters nine through twelve.

The specific linkage between traditional authority systems and personal control will be examined in chapter eight for the four island groups selected for comparative study, particularly with respect to the socialization process and the findings of researchers on the personality and culture relationship.

Based on what has been said to this point, the expected relationships between environment, culture, social system, personality, and political behavior could be diagrammed as in figure 2. This diagram represents only the hypothetical contribution of the natural environment and the traditional social systems to the contemporary political cultures of Micronesia. Still to be developed are the whole range of variables associated with the findings of the culture and personality studies in Micronesia and the impact of new economic, educational, political, and administrative systems introduced by the American administration. The influence of all of the variables in the above diagram has been altered by the impact of the new institutions. Even the effects of the environmental constraints have been greatly altered by

Figure 2

A Diagram of Relationships Between the Micronesians Environment, Traditional Values, Authority System and Political Behavior



the impact of the assumption of responsibility for the economic and social welfare of the inhabitants by the Trust Territory administration and its successor governments, underwritten by the United States. These influences will be the subjects of the next three chapters, concluding part I.

CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN MICRONESIA

Introduction

To this point, discussion of the politics of Micronesia has been in terms of broad characteristics of the traditional political culture and of how these might persist in the face of efforts aimed at induced political change. It has been suggested that traditional attitudes and behavior, with respect to authority, might influence the Micronesians' perceptions, feelings, and responses to new roles in the new institutions of government. It was anticipated that this influence would infuse traditional content into the new political forms. This discussion has been in terms of imputed characteristics of "traditional societies" which were said to be characteristic of traditional Micronesia.

Such discussion says nothing concrete about either the present-day societies or the emerging new political system of Micronesia. Generalities about the properties of traditional societies are attempts to establish their common features, for purposes of classification and comparison. The extent to which such characteristics are, in fact, applicable to the case of a given society in Micronesia can only be demonstrated by an analysis of the culture of that society.

Similarly, the nature of the emerging political system can only be seen in the concrete process of political decision making. A political system is the sum of all institutionalized processes for making authoritative decisions for the allocation of valued things in a society. The content of political issues and the processes by which they are resolved are unique to the society in which they occur. Like culture, they are a precipitate of history. They can be understood only in the context of the unique historical experience of the people concerned.

The content of the politics of any land depends on the specific choices which history has thrust upon the people and the methods they have learned for recognizing alternatives and for making and expressing choices. Obviously, the people of traditional island communities, in a relationship of colonial dependency with one of the world's great powers, are faced with quite a different type and range of political issues than are the peoples of developed industrial nations. Their particular preferences, as well as their methods of attempting to resolve these issues, are products of their unique cultures and their unique experience.

This chapter is devoted to the examination of the historical development of the current political systems of Micronesia. Chapter five will deal with Micronesia's economic dependency on the United States, the most striking consequence of this historical development. Chapter six will deal with the specific issues of Micronesian politics. All three of these remaining chapters of part I are concerned with the things that are common to all of Micronesia, today.

These three chapters will complete a general picture of the pan-Micronesian context of political development. Part II will deal with

the unique and contrasting aspects of selected Micronesian political subcultures. The larger issues of Micronesian politics are common to all island groups, although they will often be quite differently perceived and evaluated as a result of differences in cultures and experiences among these groups. In order to evaluate these differences, it is necessary to first identify the common issues with which all must come to grips.

The Origins of Military Government

As the United States wrested control of the islands of Micronesia from the Japanese during the course of World War II, they came under the de facto rule of the Naval Military Government Administration.

The United States leadership had anticipated the problems the military governments would face in attempting to govern such newly occupied areas and in preparing them for postwar reconstruction. It anticipated the problems that would be faced by American administrators trying to reestablish government over inhabitants who lived under a culture alien to the United States. Eminent social scientists were called on as consultants to help prepare military governors for the special kinds of problems they could encounter.

In 1943, the Office of Naval Intelligence jointly with the Military Government Section of Naval Operations entered into a contract with Yale University to establish a research unit to process information on Micronesia. Later another unit, associated with the Naval School of Military Government at Columbia University, organized this material into a "Civil Affairs Handbook" on the Marshall, Caroline, and Mariana Islands.[1]

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[1] H. G. Barnett, Anthropology in Administration (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Petersen and Company, 1956), p. 89.

Later a School of Naval Administration was established at Stanford University to train administrators for Guam, American Samoa, and the islands which now comprise the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. The associate director was an anthropologist, since it was intended that the curriculum should emphasize the study of island people.[2]

The problems of wartime economic rehabilitation were entrusted in 1942 to the United States Commercial Company (USCC), a branch of the Foreign Economic Administration.

Political Development Before 1962

Political Development in Micronesia under the United States administration can be divided into several distinct eras, marked by important turning points, each of which affected the course of development in a major way.

The Navy Era, 1944-1951

The administration of the Pacific Islands, taken from Japan during World War II, fell naturally to the Navy's military government units that were established in anticipation of their occupation. When the trusteeship agreement came into effect in 1947, Navy was delegated the responsibility for administration of the territory.

The Navy era was the formative period of the trusteeship. In this period, the policies that were to govern the trusteeship for the first fourteen years were established.

This early approach to the discharge of the United States' responsibilities under the trusteeship was dominated by a perception of

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[2]Ibid., pp. 12-13.

Micronesia as an area with very limited potential for development. This perception was based on the three striking characteristics of meagre resources, great geographic dispersion and isolation, and great ethnic diversity.[3]

The Navy conducted the most thorough survey of the Territory and its economic potential ever undertaken. They learned that, under the Japanese, a number of the islands had achieved a degree of economic development that exceeded anything they had known before. In fact, it has not been matched since then. This development was based on the exploitation of resources that were particularly needed in the Japanese domestic economy. It was directed to those islands which could supply these needed resources. As a result, some islands were highly developed and had largely money economies. Others remained undeveloped with traditional subsistence economies.[4]

The survey team recommended a policy of restoring the economies of the islands to the level of development that they had attained before the wartime destruction.[5] This meant restoring the money economy on those islands where it had existed before and rebuilding the essentially subsistence economy on those islands where the money economy had never developed. This meant a plan of differential development of the economies of the different islands and island groups.

In the area of political development, the announced policy was as follows. The people were to be encouraged to develop democratic forms of government, but these were not to be imposed, arbitrarily. They were

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[3] Report of the United Nations Visiting Nations 7 (1953), p. 2.

[4] Douglas L. Oliver, Planning Micronesia's Future, pp. 30-32.

[5] Ibid., p. 36.

to be introduced gradually and in accordance with the expressed wishes of the people concerned.[6] Native institutions which had proven their usefulness over many generations were not to be lightly discarded. Development was said to be an evolutionary process. The introduction of self-government was to begin at the local level, with the traditional communities.[7] Newly introduced institutions were deliberately designed to maintain some elements which would provide continuity with traditional institutions.[8]

District wide representative bodies were to be introduced only when a sufficient sense of identification with this wider community was evident among the people.[9] In practice, these developed rather early, but for many years they were regarded as purely advisory bodies.

This policy of differential political development dovetailed with the policy of differential economic development. It would hardly have been necessary or even advisable to radically alter the traditional social and political structures of islands that were to be restored to a traditional subsistence economy.

It was during the Navy era that the network of locally owned and operated wholesale and retail stores was developed, organized as stock companies. This took place under the guidance of the Island Trading

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[6]John Sandelmann, Special Consultant to the High Commissioner, Some Observations on the Problems of Self Government in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (Honolulu: Government of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, 1953), p. 3.

[7]Policy Directive, Navy Military Government, December 12, 1945 (CinPac Serial 525855).

[8]Annual Report on the Administration of the Trust Territory, 1949, p. 12.

[9]High Commissioner Letter (HiComTerPacIs Ltr. serial 323 dtd 24 Febr. 1950) quoted in Dorothy Richards, United States Naval Administration

Company. The Island Trading Company was a government owned corporation organized by the United States Commercial Company, the wartime agency of economic relief and rehabilitation. Navy provided the initial procurement and transportation of trade goods and Navy personnel made up most of the management staff of the Island Trading Company. The Island Trading Company handled the marketing of copra, established the copra Stabilization Board, and encouraged agricultural research and development. It also helped reestablish the handicraft industry and handled its marketing outside of the Trust Territory.[10]

It was the policy of the Navy to disrupt local institutions as little as possible. It embraced the philosophy of indirect rule, using preexisting local leaders to implement its decisions. It allowed local custom to prevail, where this was not felt to conflict with such laws or local ordinances as were necessary for "the preservation of peace and order, the maintenance of property rights, the enforcement of measures for health and sanitation, and those laws respecting trade, industry, and labor which are essential to economic well-being."[11] Such laws were to be held to the minimum necessary. The people were not to be overgoverned.

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of the Trust Territory ofthe Pacific Islands, vol. II (Washington, D.C. Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, 1957), p. 360.

[10]Report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, 1953 (63) (80), pp. 9-12.

[11]Quoted from Dorothy E. Richard, Lt. Comm., USN, United States Naval Administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, vol. III (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, 1957, p. 282.

In spite of its avowed opposition to imposing democracy arbitrarily, the Naval administration did deliberately introduce representative institutions of government at the local and district levels. However, the administration held that these new institutions should retain some features of the old, to give a sense of continuity.

Micronesian participation in government was to begin at the local level. Areas of local government (municipalites) were to correspond to existing political communities. These were, generally, what might be called the traditional communities. However, as Norman Meller points out, the areas of many of these units of local government had been rearranged by the Spanish, German, and Japanese administrations.[12] At least they represented continuity with the past, whatever their basis in tradition. Each municipality was to have a magistrate, assisted by a treasurer and, in some instances, a council of elders to serve as an advisory body to the magistrates.

Magistrates were chosen in one of three ways, according to the wishes of the people. In some cases, the hereditary chief was designated magistrate. In other cases, the magistrate was elected by popular vote. In still other cases, the magistrate was appointed after consultation with the community chiefs and elders.[13] Even when the post was elective, there was a strong tendency in most areas to elect the traditional chief. A community judge was sometimes appointed. In other cases, the magistrate also fulfilled the role of judge. This combination of roles (magistrate and judge) provided a close correspondence with the traditional

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[12]Norman Meller, The Congress of Micronesia (Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press, 1969), p. 24.

[13]Annual Report to the United States, 1949, p. 12.

authority system, particularly when an hereditary chief occupied the dual role. An hereditary chief was both the political leader and the judge of disputes between families.

The Municipality of Saipan was the first local government unit to be chartered under a directive issued by the United States Military Government on May 28, 1947. It was adopted by the people on July 1, 1947.[14] This was not the beginning of Micronesian participation in local government. There had been some form of local authority structure which had represented the Naval Administration, de facto, since early in the American occupation of Micronesia. These de facto governments were sometimes the hereditary chiefs. In other cases, they were local governments which existed from German or Japanese time, which were accepted as "traditional." In still other cases, democratically elected councils were set up.

The policy of gradually extending the democratic process to larger areas was implemented by the formation of elected district "congresses," which were, at first, advisory bodies for the district governors. The Palau Congress, established in May 1947, was the only districtwide body that was approved prior to the establishment of the Trusteeship. The second such body to be established was the Marshall Islands Congress, chartered by the district governor in November 1949.

In both of these bodies, the principle of maintaining continuity with the past was evident in the division of seats between the traditional chiefs and elected leaders. The Palau Congress was a unicameral

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[14]Strik Yoma, Significant Events in the Development of Government in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, a report issued by the Office of the High Commissioner of the Trust Territory, May 14, 1968, p. 2. At the time this first municipal charter was issued for Saipan, Micronesia was not yet a Trust Territory.

body. It was composed of sixteen hereditary chiefs, plus the two high chiefs and one or more elected members from each municipality, depending on population. In contrast, the Marshall Islands Congress was a two house body. The House of Assembly was elected, with representation by municipality. The House of Iroij (chiefs or nobles) consisted of hereditary leaders.

In the Yap islands, the eleven elected magistrates had functioned as the Advisory Council to the administration for a number of years when responsibility was transferred to the Interior Department. There is apparently no official record of the chartering of this body. It probably began as an informal practice and was institutionalized through long practice. It was never a districtwide body, being limited to the Yap Islands proper.[15]

To latter-day critics of the forced Americanization and economic dependency of Micronesia, the policies of the Navy administration might seem enlightened and altruistic. In fact, a strong case can be made for these policies on the bases of both economic realism and the interests of the Micronesians.

On the other hand, these policies were quite consistent with the old British system of indirect rule, as advocated by its architect and primary spokesman, Frederich Lugard, one time British governor of Nigeria. One of the principal arguments for indirect rule is that it minimizes the cost of colonial administration. New colonial ventures often run into great political opposition in the mother country,

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[15]Strik Yoma, Significant Events in the Development of the Trust Territory, p. 4.

particularly if it involves considerable investment in developing public facilities for the new colony.[16]

The philosophy of limiting development and preserving the traditional life style was also the approach that was most consistent with the American policy of sealing off the area from outside contacts for strategic purposes. For years, all nonofficial visitors could enter the Trust Territory only by securing a clearance from the Navy.

In fairness to the Navy, in the brief period of its administration of the territory, the most significant economic development project in the Trust Territory's history was accomplished. The work of the Island Trading Company resulted in the establishment of large-scale wholesale and retail companies in every district of Micronesia. Most of these are still in business and they are still the largest Micronesian-owned enterprises in the Trust Territory.[17] The Navy administration also utilized earnings from copra sales to establish the fund to stabilize copra prices and set up the Copra Stabilization Board to administer it. This board still oversees the marketing of copra, which is Micronesia's only significant export.

The Navy invested a considerable amount in learning about Micronesia and its people. Instruction in anthropology was included in the training of administrators for the Trust Territory. The Navy sponsored economic survey of Micronesia was the most thorough such survey ever

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[16] John Hatch, Nigeria, the Seeds of Disaster (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1970), pp. 182-87.

[17] Report of the United Nations Visiting Mission, 1956 (328) (330), p. 29. One major exception to this statement should be noted: Joe Ten Enterprises of Saipan, no doubt the largest Micronesian owned business, did not originate from ITC activity.

conducted in the Territory. The survey group included specialists in a number of fields, such as geology, botany, aminal husbandry, mining, fishing, and related fields; anthropology and sociology, as well as economics. The Office of Naval Research subsidized the Coordinated Investigations of Micronesian Anthropology, a series of studies of various Micronesian cultures in which forty-two anthropologists and related scientists from twenty-two universities and other institutions participated.[18]

On the negative side, it was during the period of Navy administration of the Trust Territory that the atomic bomb tests in the islands of Bikini and Eniwetok began. In addition to displacing the populations of these islands, there were tragic consequences to inhabitants of Rongelap and Utirik islands, who were accidentally exposed to nuclear fallout from one of these tests as a result of an unanticipated wind shift. To be sure, the Trust Territory Administration, as such, neither ordered nor had authority to prevent these tests. Nonetheless, the Trust Territory government collaborated in these experiments. They are events of the era of Navy administration and they have had a lasting, embittering effect on Micronesian relations with the United States.

The First Decade Under Interior Administration

In 1951, responsibility for the administration of the Trust Territory was transferred by the President to the Secretary of the Interior.

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[18]George P. Murdock, Foreward to Property, Kin and Community on Truk, by Ward H. Goodenough (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1951), pp. 5-6.

> The 1950s marked the low point in American rule of Micronesia. Proposals for economic rehabilitation . . . gathered dust, while the Trust Territory limped along on a budget of $7 million annually and a staff made up largely of Navy government personnel holding on until retirement, tired veterans of Interior's Indian Affairs Bureau, political payoffs, and dedicated recruits who soon became jaded or left in frustration. It became known as the "Rust Territory" as wartime buildings fell apart and needed facilities were not built.[19]

This quotation is a good summary of the popular retrospective judgment on the Trust Territory administration during its first decade under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior. It is generally described as a period of neglect, of marking time, of indecision about the United States goals for Micronesia. It is often referred to, pejoratively, as the "zoo period," a time in which the United States was accused of seeking to preserve Micronesian cultures and life styles as a kind of "anthropological zoo."[20]

This popular judgment on the Trust Territory administration of the fifties is surely overdrawn. The stated philosophy and objectives of the administration were the same as those of the preceding Navy administration. Included were the concepts of preservation of Micronesian cultures and life-styles and gradual, evolutionary development, in accordance with the expressed wishes of the people concerned.[21]
Many of the Navy trained administrators continued to serve, even into

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[19]John Griffin, Foreward to 1971 reprint to Planning Micronesia'a Future, ed. Douglas L. Oliver (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1971), p. 1.

[20]Ibid., p. ix. See also David Nevin, The American Touch in Micronesia (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1977), pp. 122-23.

[21]Annual Report on the Administration of the Trust Territory, 1961, p. 4.

the early 1970s. They were conscious of the local cultures and tried to evaluate proposed new policies in the light of how they would work in the local culture. They did not perceive themselves as zoo keepers.

In view of the generally unfavorable judgment on the administration during this period, it is interesting that the most widely read popular book on Micronesia that was actually written during and about this period, was quite complementary about the quality and dedication of the American personnel of the Trust Territory. Although he pointed up the underfunding, the poor state of facilities and equipment, and the inadequate numbers of trained personnel, particularly in the schools, the author expressed general approval of the philosophy of the administration. His concluding words were:

> If it is not always perfect in operation, the American administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands was based on a model concept, it seemed to me.
>
> No country, I thought many times while I was in the islands, could govern the Trust Territory better than it is being done, except possibly the United States.[22]

One can make a strong case for the administration's philosophy of limited development and the preservation of the local culture during this period of the fifties. One can also reject any general indictment of the quality and dedication of the Americans working in Micronesia to carry out this philosophy in practice. Many of these Americans were very committed to the interests of the people of Micronesia and were often most resourceful in trying to accomplish as much as possible with very limited resources. On the other hand, it is difficult to refute

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[22]Robert Trumbull, Paradise in Trust (New York: William Sloane Associates, 1959), p. 214.

the charge of neglect on the part of the United States government, in the sense of woefully inadequate support to the Trust Territory.

The justice of this indictment is clear from the personal testimony of many of those dedicated Americans who served in Micronesia during the 1950s and who were still around in the 1960s and 1970s to tell their stories. It is clear from the official reports of the United Nations Visiting Missions during this period, as well as from the writings of such visitors as Trumbull and Price. Willard Price is the only known observer to have visited and reported Micronesia under both the Japanese mandate and the United States trusteeship. He popularized the term "Rust Territory" as a description of conditions in the Trust Territory.[23]

A pair of examples will illustrate the general tenor of these reports and commentaries.

> The execrable roads and shabby housing, both for offices and living quarters, were conceded by most Americans to be beyond apology.[24]

> The Mission noted that numerous school buildings were unsatisfactory and poorly equipped and that, in general, the salaries of the indigenous teachers were inadequate and did not provide the necessary incentive to better performance. . . . Additional financial aid [is needed] . . to recruit more United States personnel, increase the training of Micronesian teachers, obtain and prepare more educational materials and aids, . . . rehabilitate deteriorated school buildings, construct new ones and generally improve the educational materials.[25]

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[23]Willard Price, America's Paradise Lost (New York: The John Day Company, 1966), p. 98. Price's visit took place in the early sixties. However, it was too early for the new accelerated development program to show much visible result. He was observing the carry over of conditions in the 1950s.

[24]Robert Trumbull, Paradise in Trust, p. 212.

[25]Report of the United Nations Visiting Mission, 1956 (398)-(402), p. 47.

There was one important difference betwen the Navy administration of the Trust Territory and the administration by the Department of the Interior, during the 1950s. The budget of the Trust Territory under the latter was woefully inadequate even for the limited development goals established. It ranged between $7 million and $8 million, annually, throughout this period.

The basic unit of government in Micronesia was said to be the municipality. Although municipal government in some islands was substantial, particularly in Saipan, in most cases it was a very minimum of government. Often the municipal government consisted of a magistrate and a secretary-treasurer, with a council which met once a month. Its principal responsibility was the operation and support of the elementary schools. Its resources were extremely meagre for this purpose. Although teacher pay was but a pittance, the teachers often went unpaid.

The education program was designed to conform to the philosphy of limited development and respect for traditional Micronesian culture. The goal was a minimum of six years of elementary school for each child. Some communities were not able to supply this much schooling. Support for elementary education by the Trust Territory government was limited to grants-in-aid to provide materials for school construction and the provision of limited supplies and texts. The Trust Territory education department also provided trainers for the elementary school teachers, who often were not educated beyond primary school and knew little or no English. The language of instruction in the elementary schools was the local vernacular. The curriculum was said to emphasize Micronesian history, culture, and handicrafts.[26]

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[26] Annual Report on the Administration of the Trust Territory, 1961, pp. 118-24.

The Trust Territory government maintained intermediate schools in each district for a limited number of students and a single high school in Truk to provide secondary education for a select few.

Little or no money was provided in the Trust Territory budget for economic development. The appropriation was barely adequate to pay the salaries of employees and maintain the administration facilities. Old quonset buildings left over from the war served as office buildings and staff houses. The government operated on handed down equipment, which was in need of constant repair.

The Partition of the Trust Territory

A major event occurred early in this era which was to have far-reaching effects. Within a year after the transfer of responsibility for administration from the Navy to the Department of the Interior, the so-called Saipan district (Saipan, Tinian, and the Northern Islands) was returned to the control of the Navy for unspecified security reasons. In addition to separating Saipan and other islands from the Trust Territory, this move had the effect of separating the island of Rota from the rest of the Mariana Islands. In 1955, Rota was made a separate district of the Trust Territory.

Shortly after this separation, an elaborate complex of offices, houses, apartments, and other facilities was built to house a top secret C. I. A. activity on what is now called "Capitol Hill" on Saipan. It contained the only streets with curbs, street lights, and general landscaping in Micronesia. It was the existence of this facility which provided the rationale for selecting Saipan as the site of the Trust Territory headquarters, when it was finally moved to the Trust Territory in

1962. The headquarters had been in Honolulu until 1954, when it had been moved to Guam.

It was placing Saipan under the separate Navy administration that firmly established the favored position of Saipan among the islands of Micronesia, as well as a superior harbor and utility system. The greater concentration of government activities provided more jobs for the local people, as well as more stimulus to job producing activities in the private sector. The presence of more of the relatively high salaried Americans was a stimulus to retail businesses. The Navy administration on Saipan paid its local workers higher wages than did the Trust Territory administration in the other islands. All of these developments have been blamed for encouraging, if not creating, the strong separatist sentiment in the Mariana Islands, which eventually led to the separation of the Northern Mariana Islands from the Trust Territory in 1977.

Political Development Since 1962

If there is one major turning point in the political development of the Trust Territory, it is the year that fell between the dates of the Annual Reports on the Administration of the Trust Territory for 1961 and 1962. Between the dates of these two reports, a major reversal of policy and objectives occurred.

This change occurred at the direction of President Kennedy. It reportedly resulted from the fact that the report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territory for 1961 was brought to his attention. He was shocked by the report of such conditions as the inadequate schools, health facilities and medical care, and the reported neglect of

economic development. He was also reminded of the strategic importance of these islands to the United States.[27]

As a consequence of this awakening interest, a decision was made to accelerate the development of the Trust Territory and to provide a standard of education for the children of the islands equal to that enjoyed by children in the United States. It was hoped that such measures would induce the people to seek a permanent association with the United States, when the time came for them to decide their political future.

The first result of this new determination to develop the islands of Micronesia was an accelerated education development program. Overnight, elementary education ceased to be a responsibility of the local community and became a responsibility of the High Commissioner. The goal became a minimum of twelve years of education for every child, instead of the previous goal of six years. English replaced the local language as the language of instruction in the elementary schools. Gone were the references to the emphasis on local traditions and handicrafts in the schools. Although it was not specifically stated, an American standard school system was to be the goal. Planning began for a crash program of construction of schools and teacher housing in every district. A classroom a year was to be added to the intermediate schools in each district, until a full twelve-year system was completed.[28] Recruitment began for American contract teachers to help man the elementary schools throughout the Trust Territory.

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[27] David Nevin, The American Touch in Micronesia, p. 103.

[28] Annual Report on the Administration of the Trust Territory, 1964, pp. 120-23.

Other forms of accelerated development followed the education development program. New high schools, new public buildings, and new utility systems were developed. In time, a new airline was franchised to bring jet air service to all of the district centers, after a program of runway building and improvement. The Trust Territory budget was increased by increments from $7 million to $15 million to $22 million and so on until it reached about $100 million.

In 1962, Saipan was reunited with the Trust Territory and the Headquarters was moved there. In the process, Rota was reunited with the other islands in the Mariana Islands district. In 1963, a districtwide legislature was chartered for the Mariana Islands, leaving only Yap without a districtwide legislature.[29]

New government programs were instituted, resulting in an expansion of government jobs as well as an increase in government services to the public. Along with this trend came a greater centralization of responsibility on Saipan. The municipalities had lost their most significant function, operation of the school system. The new administration would not have dreamed of letting a local community construct its own school, or other public facility. Outside contractors were engaged for such projects. While this greatly improved construction, it also greatly increased costs and eliminated local involvement.

Overnight, hundreds of Micronesian teachers suddenly were considered completely unqualified for the jobs they had held for years. They were not replaced; there was neither the manpower nor the funds to

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[29] Annual Report on the Administration of the Trust Territory, 1964, p. 23.

accomplish this goal. Instead, the government relied on a combination of long range attrition and upgrade training to solve this problem.[30]

A Territory-Wide Legislature is Formed

In 1965, another important development occurred which was to lead, eventually, to the demise of Micronesian unity, though it was for a time considered the greatest unifying influence in Micronesia. This event was the establishment of the Congress of Micronesia, the first Territorywide legislature. The Congress soon became an effective forum for the expression of opinion and criticism of the administration. The members began to push for an increase in their legislative power.

One of the principal limits on the powers of legislative bodies in Micronesia, including the Congress, was that they could only appropriate local revenues. About 95 percent of the cost of the government was born out of the grant funds provided by the United States Congress. The administration of all of the basic services of government was in the hands of the district administrators, who were appointed by and responsible to the High Commissioner. Municipal ordinances could not conflict with laws enacted by the district legislature. Laws of the district legislature could not conflict with Trust Territory laws. The Congress of Micronesia could enact laws controlling the administration but these were subject to the veto of the High Commissioner, the chief executive of the Trust Territory government, a U.S. presidential appointee.

There was a provision for overriding the High Commissioner's veto, but this was, in effect, an appeal to the Secretary of the Interior.

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[30]This writer was a part of the administration from 1965 until 1973 and was much involved with the centralization of responsibility and the problems of Micronesian teachers affected by the change in the educational system.

In fact, at each level of the government there was a provision for overriding an executive veto, but this was always essentially an appeal to the next higher level executive.[31]

Gradually the Congress of Micronesia succeeded in increasing its effective powers. In time, it succeeded in getting approval of an amendment to the basic law, which gave the Congress the power of advice and consent on appointments to positions of heads of departments in the government. Eventually, it also succeeded in obtaining the right to review the administration budget in preliminary form, having its own views and priorities given serious consideration in the final submission to Washington and sending spokesmen to the U.S. Congressional hearings.

The Future Political Status Movement

The most momentous undertaking of the Congress of Micronesia was the establishment of a commission to consider possible future political status for Micronesia, with the view of pushing for an end to the trusteeship. After its initial report, in which it recommended the status of a self-governing state in free association with the United States, it was reconstituted as a status delegation to negotiate with representatives of the United States with the object of reaching an agreement on a basis for terminating the trusteeship. These negotiations were protracted over a period of several years before agreement was reached, in principle, to the Micronesian goal of free association. Free association, in essence, means a status of rather complete internal self-government, under a

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[31]See: Secretary of the Interior Order No. 2882 (the Charter of the Congress of Micronesia), Section 14. See also, for example, the Charter of the Mariana Islands District Legislature (1963), Article II, Section 9.

constitution developed by the Micronesians themselves; a status that could be unilaterally terminated by either party after a specified period of time. Under this status, defense and foreign affairs would be in the hands of the United States, while the status remained in effect.[32]

In the meantime, the people of the Mariana Islands had been pursuing their own goal of permanent political association with the United States. The majority opinion in the Mariana Islands favored accomplishing this by separation from the Trust Territory. The leaders of the Mariana Islands in the municipal government, the district legislature, and the Congress of Micronesia had all spoken for this goal. The earliest official expression of this goal came in 1959. At that time the goal was to accomplish this by merger with the United States territory of Guam.[33]

It was only as the goal of deciding Micronesia's future political status gathered momentum that the first indication of other threats to the unity of Micronesia became apparent. In 1969, Senator Tmetuchl of Palau made a speech in which he advocated a Micronesian confederation of self-governing states, in preference to a unitary or federal plan. He was later to become the leader of the Palauan movement for separation.

The first serious crack in the facade of unity occurred, not surprisingly, over a taxation issue. The Marshall Islands delegation in the Congress insisted on a policy of returning 50 percent of all

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[32] Statement of Intent of the Future Political Status Commission, July 1969. Reproduced as appendix 2 in Micronesia at the Crossroads, by Carl Heine (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, An East-West Center Book, 1974), pp. 181-84.

[33] The Guam Daily News, September 17, 1959, p. 12, reported conferences of legislators from Guam and Saipan, convened to discuss the reuniting of the entire Mariana islands as a United States territory.

revenue from the Micronesian income tax to the district in which it was collected for appropriation by the legislature. The Marshallese stated that unless this demand was met, they would seek to negotiate a separate status for the Marshall Islands.

The United States finally acceded to the demand of the Mariana Islands for separate negotiations in 1972. This was done over the protests of spokesmen for the Congress of Micronesia, who maintained that the Congress was the only body legally empowered to negotiate for the Trust Territory or any part of it.

In due time, a covenant was negotiated between representatives of the United States and the Mariana Islands, proposing the establishment of a Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. The Commonwealth would be in permanent political association with the United States. The native inhabitants would be United States citizens. This covenant was approved by the people of the Northern Mariana Islands in a plebescite and by the United States Congress. The term Northern Mariana Islands includes all of the Mariana Islands except the United States territory of Guam.

The constitution for the new Commonwealth was drawn up by an elected convention and ratified by the people. It went into effect, de facto, with the inauguration of the newly elected governor, legislature, and other officials in January 1978. Legally the Northern Mariana Islands are still a part of the Trust Territory until the trusteeship is formally terminated for the entire Territory. This involves the approval of the United Nations.

In 1975, a constitutional convention was held on Saipan to write a constitution for the remainder of Micronesia. The Palauan delegation came to the convention with a set of seven "nonnegotiable"

conditions under which Palau would be willing to remain in a united Micronesia. It called for an association of states, somewhat on the lines of the Articles of Confederation, where the states controlled the activities of the central government and where each state would vote as a unit.[34] At this time, the people of the Marshall Islands were divided between a separatist and a pro-unity faction. Only the pro-unity faction took part in the election of delegates. The convention finally adopted a constitution which was an attempt to compromise. It provided that, in effect, bills would be voted on by the states as units on final passage. It also provided for an equal sharing of revenue between the central government and the member states.[35]

The compromises offered the separatists were possibly not too little, but they definitely came too late. The terms for maintaining unity should have been settled by negotiation two years earlier, at least. By the date of the convention, the time for compromise was past.

The resulting constitution for a Federated States of Micronesia was submitted to a plebescite in July 1978. The people in Palau and the Marshall Islands regarded the plebescite as a vote on unity versus separation, not simply as approval or disapproval of a specific constitution. In fact, it was almost universally accepted as a referendum on unity, although some people in other districts voted against it on the basis of specific features and did not intend their vote as a vote against unity.

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[34] Journal of the Micronesian Constitutional Convention of 1975, vol. 1, Saipan Mariana Islands, Government of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands Printing Office, January 1976, p. 24.

[35] Constitution of the Federated States of Micronesia, article IX, sections 5 and 20.

As expected, the people of Palau and the Marshall Islands voted against the constitution, and the people of Yap, Truk, Ponope, and Kosrae voted in favor of it.

All parties, including the United States, agreed that Palau and the Marshall Islands would each enter into separate negotiations with the United States to establish separate political entities in some form of political association with the United States. The other four districts agreed to form the Federated States of Micronesia in a free association relationship.

The Movement for Decentralization of Responsibility

For years, the Congress of Micronesia has pushed for greater decentralization of responsibility from the central government to the district governments. As a culmination of this movement, agreement was reached in 1977 on a program under which each district would draft a new individual charter for itself, providing for an elected governor to replace the appointed district administrators. This would be submitted to the Congress of Micronesia and the High Commissioner for approval.

Truk was the first district to have its new charter approved. Elections under these new charters have been held and the new governors, lieutenant governors, and legislatures inaugurated in all four states. These new entities now refer to themselves as states, rather than as districts.

Summary

Although the exact date for the termination of the United States trusteeship over Micronesia will depend on the resolution of many problems of transition, the declared target date is sometime in 1981.

The process of transition is already well advanced. The broad outlines of the future are apparently settled. A united Micronesia is no more. The Mariana Islands, Palau, and the Marshall Islands have each opted for a separate status in some form of continuing political association with the United States. In the case of the Mariana Islands, it will be a permanent association, with United States citizenship for the inhabitants.

The remaining island groups, consisting of the former districts of Truk, Yap, Kosrae, and Ponope, remain united as the Federated States of Micronesia. As the name implies, this new entity is a federation, with substantial powers retained by the member states. This is in sharp contrast to the unitary form of government under which the people of the territory have lived for the past thirty years.

While these changes in the larger structure have occurred, municipal government, in most cases, remains very much the same as it has been for many years. In most municipalities, it consists of a full-time magistrate and a part-time council. It remains a minimum of government with a minimum of authority and of resources. It remains the only level of government with a basis in traditional Micronesian society. Though, with few exceptions, it has never been a vital force in Trust Territory politics, it was once the only level of government in which Micronesians participated. It has never recovered from the decline in its role and importance which followed the transformation in the Trust Territory government, beginning in 1962.

CHAPTER V

THE ECONOMIC DEPENDENCY OF MICRONESIA

The Micronesian Dilemma

> The United States appears to be trying to buy Micronesia. Either they will buy it now, with this offer of Commonwealth, or they will buy it little by little, year by year, in a series of time-payments, in the form of mounting budgets, carefully chosen promotions, and essentially alien economic programs.[1]
>
> Senator Lazarus Salii, Palau, Chairman
> Micronesian Political Status Delegation

As the above-quoted statement suggests, the story of Micronesian development over the past eighteen years has been one of growing economic dependence on the United States. Any realistic discussion of political development in Micronesia has to take account of the limiting effect of this dependency on Micronesia's freedom in choosing among alterna- alternative future political statuses for the Territory.

The Money Economy

Basic to the concept of modernization is the goal of movement from a nonmoney "subsistence" economy to an economy in which most transactions are mediated or expressed in money terms. Over the life of the

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[1] Statement delivered in Senate, Congress of Micronesia, August 14, 1970; from Political Status Digest, part I, Fourth Congress, p. 26.

trusteeship, more and more Micronesians have entered the money economy in the sense that they rely principally on money incomes for their livelihood. An examination of the nature of this money economy will clarify what is meant by the statement that Micronesia has become increasingly dependent on the United States.

The extent of this dependency is strikingly illustrated in figures 3 a to 3c. The close parallel between the public expenditures, employment, and imports curves is clear from these figures. It is obvious that the increases in employment and imports are the immediate consequences of the rising government expenditures. The broken vertical line marks the year 1962 as the take-off point for these sharply ascending curves (expenditures and imports, respectively) and the shaded areas (representing local revenues and exports) measure Micronesia's growing economic dependency on grants from the United States.

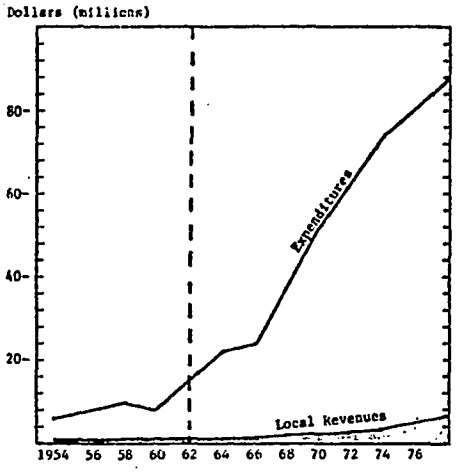
The annual grant from the United States government to support the government of the Trust Territory makes up the difference between local revenues and total government expenditures. To further illustrate the trend, table 3 is a comparison of the relative federal and local (Micronesian) share of the cost of government at three points in time.

It should be pointed out that the term local revenues, as used in this comparison, includes only those revenues collected by the Trust Territory government through its district offices and appropriated by the central government. It does not include revenues collected, spent, and accounted for by the local governments. These are very modest in comparison with revenues and expenditures of the Trust Territory government, but their inclusion would slightly modify the picture of dependency reflected in figures 3a to 3c.

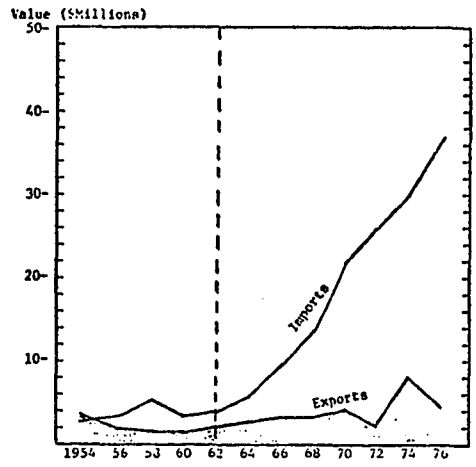
Figure 3

A Comparison of Trends in Total Government Revenues and Expenditures, Exports and Employment in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, from 1954 to 1976

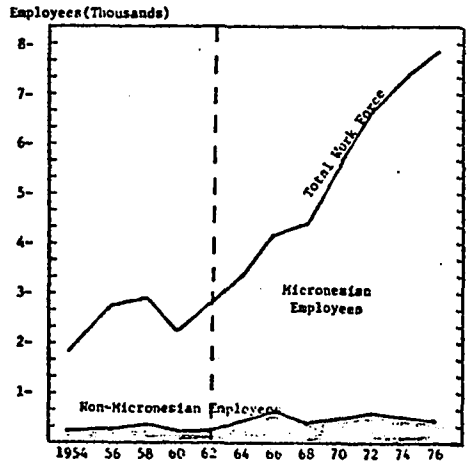
3a. Growth in Expenditures Versus Revenues



3b. Growth in Imports Versus Exports



3c. Growth in Total Work Force, Micronesian and Non-Micronesian Share



SOURCE: Annual Reports to the United Nations on the Administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands for the Years 1954 to 1976, inclusive.

Table 3

A Comparison of the Amounts and Percentages of Total Government Funds Available to the Government of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands for Fiscal Years 1954, 1965 and 1976 from Local Revenues and Federal Grants

Source	Year 1954	1965	1976
Local Revenue			
Amount	$1,764,672	$ 2,053,473	$ 7,964,910
As percent of total	25.3	8.7	9.0
Federal Grant			
Amount	5,217,724	21,454,263	80,068,943
As percent of total	74.7	91.3	91.0
Total Funds	$6,982,396	$23,507,736	$88,033,853

SOURCE: Annual Reports on the Administration of the Trust Territory.

As the above figures reveal, local revenues paid for 25 percent of the costs of government in 1954, when the total cost did not exceed $7 million. By 1976, when the cost of government had soared to $88 million, the share supported by local revenues was only 9 percent of the total. In the time period depicted above, the gap between local revenues and government expenditures increased by nearly $75 million, a fourteen-fold increase.

Of course, some of the $88 million spent by the government in 1976 was for capital improvements, a nonrecurring type of expenditure. Allowing 20 percent of the total for such capital expenditures,[2] local revenues provided only 11.3 percent of the operating costs of government (adjusted to $70.4 million) in 1976. Thus, Micronesia depends on grants from the United States to pay for roughly 90 percent of the cost of operating its government.

The increasing economic dependency of Micronesia is principally the produce of two influences. One is the ever increasing cost of government (figure 3a). Between 1961 and 1976, the increase was roughly twelve fold (from $6.1 million to $88.0 million).

The second influence contributing to this state of dependency is the lack of economic development, which could generate revenue to pay for the costs of government. The rapid increase in government expenditures and government employment (figures 3a and 3c) acount for the sharp rise in imports (figure 3b), while exports remain stagnant.

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[2]The exact amount represented by the Capital Improvement Program (CIP) in 1976 is not know. For the period of 1973 to 1975, the funds budgeted for CIP averaged about 20 percent of the funds available to the government, according to the United Nations Development Programme's Five Year Indicative Plan, pp. 26-27.

The fluctuation in the dollar value of exports that has occurred probably represents the fluctuation in the price of copra on the world market. Except for tourism, there has been no significant development of productive, export oriented industries in Micronesia in the past twenty years.[3] New job creating enterprises are overwhelmingly of the kind of retail importing and service oriented enterprises which thrive on the demand created by the rapid increase in government employment. As figure 4 illustrates, the increase in employment in the private sector has consistently equalled and paralleled the changes in government employment since 1968. Although the jobs in the private and public sector have tended to rise and fall in tandem, the average wage paid in the public service has risen much more rapidly than has the average wage in private employment. For this reason, the government's share of total wages paid has increased from 58 percent in 1968 to 68 percent in 1976 (figure 5).

In other words, nongovernment employment accounts for about one-half of the wage earning work force, but only 32 percent of the wage income in Micronesia. More significantly, the government's share of total wages paid has been rising rather than declining in recent years.

There are three easily identifiable causes for the more rapid increase in wages paid by the government, relative to the wages in the private sector. One very obvious cause is the increase in the levels of government wages brought about by the demand for a single wage schedule

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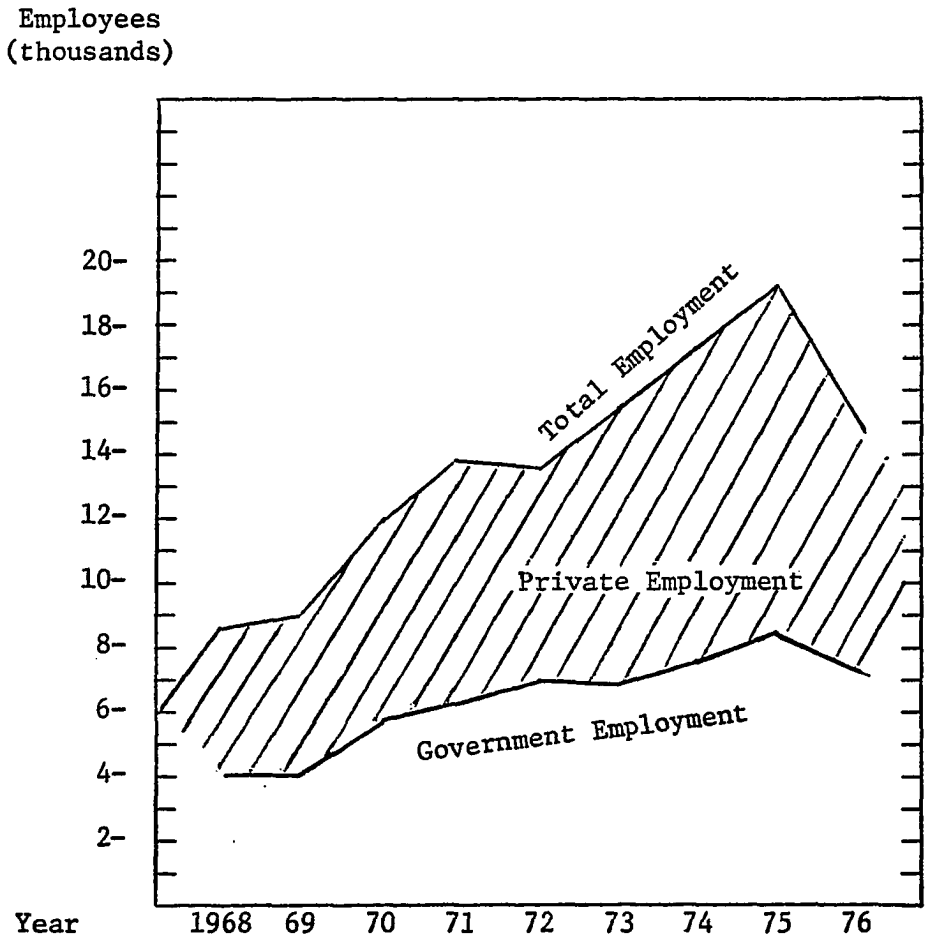
[3]There have been a few products developed for export on a small scale, such as Ponope pepper, which is sold through special channels as a gourmet product. The only commercial fishery devoted to the export market is the one operated by the American firm, Van Camp, in Palau.

Figure 4

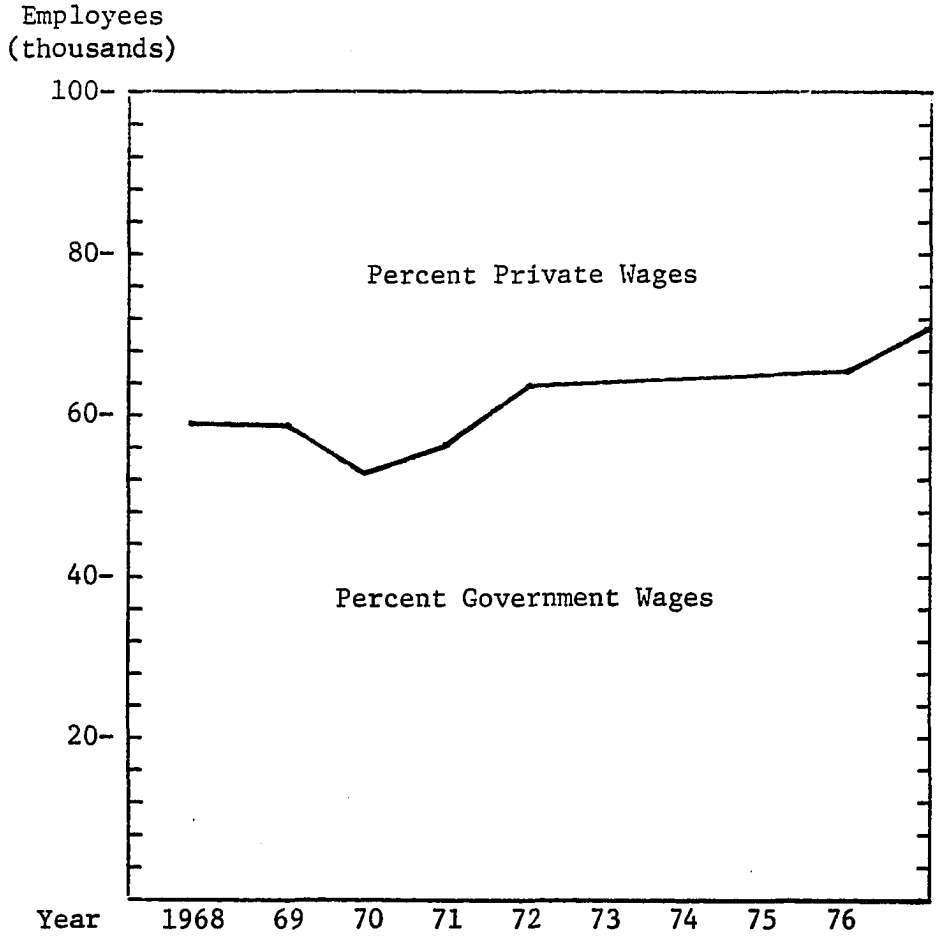
Total Number of Government and Private Employees in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, from July 1968 to December 1976, in Thousands



SOURCE: Wage and Employment Data for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Prepared by the Trust Territory Social Security Administration, Saipan Maiana Islands, May 1977

Figure 5

Micronesian Government and Private Sector Wages as Percentages of Total Wages Paid to Micronesians, from 1968 to 1976



SOURCE: Wage and Employment Data for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands for the Years of 1968 to 1976, prepared by the Trust Territory Social Security Administration, Saipan, Mariana Islands, May 1977.

for Micronesian and American employees of the Trust Territory government ("equal pay for equal work").

The second cause of the disparity in government and private wages is found in the character of government employment in comparison with nongovernment employment. Most government jobs require a certain minimum of formal education. Many require advanced technical, professional, and managerial skills. The bulk of employment in the private sector is low skill work; retail clerks, hotel maids, and other service personnel. The employees are, for the most part, either very young or of limited education. Turnover in these jobs is quite high, especially among the young.[4] Managerial positions and positions with high skill requirements are relatively few in number and these are often held by non-Micronesians.

The third cause for the relatively high wage level in government is found in the rapid conversion of higher level government jobs from American and other expatriate incumbency to Micronesian incumbency. This trend has now encompassed practically all of the highest positions in government up to and including the position of Deputy High Commissioner.

The Subsistence Economy

The figures which depict expenditures in money terms, wages and employment, imports and exports, do not give the entire picture of the economy of Micronesia. Many Micronesians are still employed in the subsistence economy, in which they produce food, shelter, and other necessities for themselves. Any realistic analysis of the "gross national

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[4]The turnover among clerks and service personnel was quite evident when the attempt was made to locate an interview sample from employers of record.

product" would have to take account of the commuted value of this subsistence income, which is quite considerable. The tradition of sharing within the kin group insures that most Micronesians share, at least to some degree, in both the cash and subsistence income.

A study released in 1975 by William Knowles, a regional economist for the United Nations Development Programme, shows the distribution of the work force, by sector, as of 1973 (see table 4).

This estimated work force Of 30,815 constituted 57 percent of the total population between the ages of 15 and 65, as of 1973. To complete the manpower picture, table 5 shows the distribution of the entire working age (i.e., ages 15-65) population between the work force and the nonwork force.

As table 5 indicates, 21 percent of the work force was unemployed, as of 1973, the date of the last census. Its author pointed out that unemployment is especially high among the young. Fifty-one percent of the unemployed males and 65 percent of the unemployed females are in the out-of-school population in the 15 to 24 age group.

The author acknowledged that he could not account for underemployment, but he felt that production in the subsistence economy could be considerably increased while the manpower allocated to it remained constant or even decreased. He also noted that many informants indicated that many government jobs were created just to provide employment for the young leaving school. If true, this would create underemployment in the public sector.

The report blamed the government wage scale for much of the unemployment and underemployment in both the subsistence and the money

Table 4

Distribution of the Trust Territory Labor Force Among the Subsistence, Government and Private Sectors of the Economy and the Unemployed, as of 1973

Sector	Labor Force*					
	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Subsistence	5,619	27	4,148	43	9,767	32
Government	6,163	30	1,337	13	7,500	24
Private	5,414	26	1,510	15	6,924	23
Unemployed	3,709	17	2,915	29	6,624	21
Totals	20,905	100	9,910	100	30,815	100

SOURCE: William Knowles, Report to the Congress of Micronesia on Manpower Development, Saipan, Mariana Islands, The United Nations Development Programme, 3 March, 1976.

*Includes all Trust Territory citizens, ages 15-65, excluding those voluntarily withdrawn (students, housewives, etc.)

Table 5

Distribution of Working Age Population of the Trust Territory Between the Work Force and Various Categories Excluded from the Work Force, as of 1973

	Number	Percent
Work Force	30,815	57.0
Non-Work Force	(23,249)	(43.0)
Housewives	13,600	25.2
Secondary Students	5,900	10.9
Post Secondary Student	1,312	2.4
Not Identified	2,437	4.5
Total Working Age Population*	54,064	100.0

SOURCE: William Knowles, Report to the Congress on Manpower Development.

*Includes all adult Trust Territory citizens between the ages of 15 and 65.

economies. Farmers and fishermen do not produce nearly enough to satisfy the demand on the local markets. Knowles suggests that they will not produce a surplus for sale unless the imputed wage thus earned is equal to wages in the monetary sector.

> . . . [I]t is necessary to import fresh fruits and vegetables and tinned and frozen fish from the United States because it does not pay the underemployed in the traditional sector to produce at less than the wage in the monetary sector. . . . Hotels and restaurants must import food, while the unemployed and underemployed will not supply food to hotels at existing imputed wage rates (so long as they receive support from those in the high wage sector). Meanwhile, tourists complain of the lack of fresh fruit in hotels and restaurants.[5]

The fact that there are disincentives at work to reduce productivity in the traditional sector can be seen from the decline in copra production from 1956 to 1976, as illustrated in table 6.

Copra is abundant everywhere in Micronesia. It requires only that it be harvested, shelled, dried on a rack, and bagged for shipment. Unlike other products, the marketing and transportation are centrally provided. It is the one reliable source of cash income for those who live principally in the subsistence economy. The long-term decline in production is obviously not a response to price decline, since production declined by 1,300 short tons between 1972 and 1976, while the price received increased by just under 40 percent.

The decline in the percent which copra sales represents of total exports in table 6 could give a misleading impression of a relative increase in the export of other products. In 1976, the only other significant export was $3 million of tuna from the American owned Van Camp fishery in Palau. That export industry affects the economy of only one district. Even that effect is minimal, since Van Camp employs Okinawan

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[5]William Knowles, Report to the Congress of Micronesia, pp. 13-14.

Table 6

A Comparison of Copra Production for Export in the Trust Territory for the Years 1956, 1968, 1972 and 1976; in Quantity, Price and Value and as a Percentage of the Total Value of Trust Territory Exports

	Year			
	1956	1968	1972	1976
Production (short tons)	12,287	12,880	10,739	9,392
Price Per Ton	$102	$194	$123	$173
Total Value	$1,258,901	$2,504,741	$1,317,542	$1,616,589
Percent of Total Value of Trust Territory Exports	72.7	82.8	50.0	33.6

SOURCE: Annual Reports on the Administration of the Trust Territory for the years 1956, 1968, 1972, and 1976.

fishermen. If the Van Camp output is excluded, copra sales represent 94 percent of total exports, for 1976. It remains the only significant export of Micronesia.

Impediments to Economic Development

Neither the Trust Territory administration nor the Micronesian political leadership is oblivious to the need for economic development. On three separate occasions, during the history of the trusteeship, there have been comprehensive studies undertaken of economic development needs and potential for the express purpose of developing a long range economic development plan.

The first of these was the economic survey conducted by the U.S. Commercial Company on behalf of the Navy administration in the late 1940s. The second such survey was undertaken by Robert Nathan Associates in the mid 1960s. The latest economic development survey was conducted by the United Nations Development Programme, at the request of the Congress of Micronesia in the mid 1970s. In addition, there have been periodic surveys by various agencies to evaluate the extent of a given resource in Micronesia, such as fish or mineral resources.

After all of these studies, why has there been so little accomplished in the area of private economic development? There is no single or simple answer to this question. A plan and program for economic development in Micronesia must confront some very formidable problems. The first economic survey team in the late 1940s pointed out the three great limiting conditions of geographic fragmentation and dispersion, isolation, and meagre resources.

Of course, Micronesia does have some exploitable resources. Economic surveys invariably suggest fishing, tourism and agriculture as the three industries which offer potential for development in Micronesia.

It is true, as frequently noted, that the waters of Micronesia abound in fish and other marine resources. It is often pointed out that, under the Japanese administration, there was a substantial fishing industry in Micronesia. However, as the United States Commercial Company survey team pointed out, the Japanese were producing for their own domestic market. Could a Micronesian fishing industry compete on that same market with Japanese fishing companies that are now fishing the waters of Micronesia, among others?

Large scale commercial fishing is a capital intensive industry. Micronesians do not want to permit foreign investors to control their primary industries. On the other hand, they have neither the capital nor the managerial experience to launch large scale new industries. Micronesian entrepreneurs prefer to follow the tried and true path of establishing additional mercantile and service enterprises to serve the already existing local market.

To overcome the shortage of risk capital and managerial skills, it has sometimes been proposed that such undertakings as a fishing industry be done by a government corporation which, once established on a sound basis, could be converted to a Micronesian corporation through a sale of stock.[6] This, of course goes very much against the American ideological commitment to the private enterprise system.

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[6]For example, this proposal was made by Senator John Mangefel (Yap) on the Senate floor, Fifth Congress of Micronesia, First Special Session, August 5, 1974.

There are fishing cooperatives in most districts in which Micronesians are employed to supply the local markets. Much of the local market production involves so called reef fishing (i.e., within the lagoons). This kind of industry could be greatly expanded, since the local markets are far from adequately supplied. It is primarily a question of incentives. The imputed wages earned are not sufficient to match the prevailing wages in the money sector.

> It is generally believed that the unemployed and non-participants are being fed by both wage earners and those in the traditional sector. . . . If one descends into the traditional sector, one never gets a chance at a government job. It is better to remain unemployed (if someone else supports you) while continually seeking wage employment.[7]

All of the obstacles to an export oriented fishing industry apply, with equal force, to suggestions for commercial agriculture. The Japanese had a substantial sugar growing and processing industry in the Mariana Islands. It produced sugar and industrial alcohol for the domestic Japanese economy. There are too many large-scale sugar producing nations in the world for Micronesians to compete for such markets today. In addition, plantation industries must be either extremely low wage or mechanized industries. Mechanization is not feasible in small-scale developments and Micronesia has neither the land nor the population to support large-scale agriculture.

The production of crops for cash does occur near district centers and in places such as Rota where such nearby markets as Guam are available and prices are high. The further development of commercial agriculture is impeded by the lack of regular, reliable freight carriers

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[7]William Knowles, Report on Manpower Development, p. 12.

and a marketing and distribution system. Commercial distributers would rather rely on more distant producers, such as Japan, who can supply large quantities, reliably, and as cheaply or cheaper than can Micronesian sources.

A small but growing tourist industry exists in Micronesia, principally on Saipan. Saipan is favored by location, lying close to Guam and between Guam and Japan. Japan supplies most of the tourists. Saipan also has the advantage of being the most developed island in Micronesia. It has more local capital and is more hospitable to outside investment (particularly if Saipanese are permitted to participate as investors). In general, the development of a tourist industry in Micronesia is inhibited by its distance from world population centers, the high cost of transportation in the area, the lack of modern facilities, the lack of capital, and the resistance of the inhabitants to outside investment.

In summary, the problems of economic development in Micronesia are, at best, formidable. It would, no doubt, be possible to develop substantial fishing and tourist industries, after a considerable development of the necessary infrastructure and an opening of the territory to outside investment. Micronesian opposition to the alienation of their land and to foreign domination of their economic life are impediments to this type of development. It might also be possible to establish government corporations to provide the considerable initial risk capital, as well as the technical and managerial know-how. American opposition, on principle, to government enterprise is a barrier to this approach, although the largest and most successful economic development project in the history of the Trust Territory, the Island Trading Company, was accomplished in just that manner.

On the other hand, a great deal could be done to expand economic activities that already exist and which would require little additional capital. Fishing cooperatives could employ many more fishermen just to more adequately supply the local market and eliminate the need to import canned fish. The same could be said for the production of common vegetables and tropical fruits. Papaya grows on almost every island, yet it is impossible to find on any menu (except in Rota) and it is usually unavailable in local markets. Even bananas, which grow in practically every yard, have been imported by local merchants. The production of copra could be considerably increased just to match the production of earlier years.

In the construction field alone, there were about 2,000 jobs reported in 1975 that were held by foreign nationals. These could be held by Micronesians, if they had the requisite skills. The education system has generally been geared to academic training and preparation for white collar work. Although the schools have attempted to rectify this situation by providing vocational training, they have found that the demand for such training is limited. The rewards of higher pay and status and the example of those who provide the role models for aspiring young people are all identified with white collar work.

Thus, while much could be done in a variety of small scale efforts to provide employment and to promote the production and consumption of local goods, the incentives to take advantage of these opportunities are lacking.

The High Cost of Government

Overcoming Micronesia's economic dependency on the United States is not solely a matter of raising productivity and providing more

employment in the private sector. No conceivable degree of economic development for Micronesia could provide sufficient local revenues to fully support a government which costs in the range of $50 to $100 million per year in constant (1980) dollars.

Micronesia can pay a greater share of the current costs of government without any economic development. As the UNDP economic development report pointed out, Micronesian taxes in 1975 amounted to only 5.5 percent of total domestic income. This compares with a tax burden of between 10 and 15 percent in most developing countries. As the report states, the $7.1 million in taxes collected in 1975 could have been between $12.6 million and $18.9 million without any serious strain on the economy.[8]

To move Micronesia towards a self-supporting economy, it would be necessary to greatly reduce the cost of government as well as to increase the local tax rates. In the short run, it would probably not be possible to increase local tax yields (as opposed to rates) while cutting the cost of government, since much of the local tax revenue is generated by the multiplier effect of government expenditure. In the long run, of course, if the private economy could expand sufficiently, it might be possible to increase local tax revenues while cutting government expenditures.

To keep government costs down to a level the private economy could some day hope to support would require reducing or at least holding down the size of the government work force so that the bulk of those

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[8] The Five Year Indicative Development Plan, submitted by the United Nations Development Program to the Congress of Micronesia, Saipan, Mariana Islands, 1975, pp. 29-30.

entering the labor market could be diverted into the private, productive sector.

If it should not be feasible to reduce government wages, the same effect could be accomplished through a progressive income tax. This would help reduce the demand for imports, and encourage the substitution of local produce for imported foods. It could also generate funds which could be directed towards developing the necessary infrastructure for economic development. This is, in fact, the course recommended by the United Nations Development Programme in its Five Year Indicative Plan.[9]

The approach of holding down the government work force and the level of government wages means more frugal government. It also means a lower standard of living, lowered expectations. Many more Micronesians would have to be content to fish and to produce their own food and a surplus for sale to those employed in government and in the new industries to be developed. A substantial portion of the population might still have to remain in an essentially subsistence economy. In fact, it would mean the kind of economy foreseen by the economic survey team in the late 1940s and which was the goal of the Trust Territory administration until 1962.

In short, the Micronesian economy is an artificial economy maintained solely by the massive infusion of United States federal government funds. Roughly one-half of the wage earners of Micronesia are employed by the government. The other half consists of employees of the kinds of local enterprises which subsist on the demand created by government wages and other government expenditures. For those in the money economy, the standard of living is very high in relation to the level of

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[9] The Five Year Indicative Plan, p. 2.

economic development of the area because of the relatively high wage levels in government.

This level of money incomes and this standard of living could not be maintained in a self-supporting Micronesian economy; that is to say, in an economy based on private productive enterprises, in which the full cost of government would be born out of local taxes. To achieve a self-supporting economy would require both a retrenchment in the size and cost of government and an expansion in private production. Such an economy could not support the standard of living already enjoyed by a considerable class of government employees, political leaders, and private entrepreneurs. This standard of living also represents the expectations of thousands of students in institutions of secondary and higher education.

Through the years in which this system of dependency has been developing, there has been no lack of voices warning against the trend. There has been no lack of advocates of the kind of economic development that could make Micronesia self-supporting. As already stated, it was the goal advocated by the economic survey team during the Navy administration. During the period of the 1950s, the High Commissioner of the Trust Territory argued against increased levels of appropriations on the grounds that they would create an artificial economy.

> I cannot believe that this type of false economy and overadministration would have been in the best interests of the Micronesian people. . . . Unless the size of the administration is in proportion to the need and the economic life of the Territory is firmly grounded on productivity, the dependency of the area is increased because it will never be able to support the artificially high standards created by oversubsidization.[10]

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[10]Remarks by High Commissioner Delmar Nucker to the UN Trusteeship Council, quoted in Robert Trumbull, Paradise in Trust, p. 213.

The Jesuit missionary educators in Micronesia have been among the consistent advocates of a self-supporting economy. In the words of Father Fran Hezel, principal of Xavier High School in Truk:

> The major economic development problem in Micronesia is to bring consumption in line with productivity by increasing the latter and curtailing the former. It is possible to suggest measures [to] control imports and stimulate exports--such as heavy luxury taxes, legislation to limit the types and amounts of goods that could be imported, the radical reorientation of the school system towards productive skills, and the like. But a society that has acquired a taste for canned mackerel and Shasta and has become accustomed to living well beyond the range of its ability to produce is not likely to show enthusiastic support for such measures.[11]

Within the administration, itself, there has been no lack of people who foresaw the drift towards dependency and advocated a different course. For example, Mort Colodny, former District Cooperative Officer for Ponope, wrote an essay on this theme, shortly before he left the Trust Territory government to assume a position with the Ebeye Cooperative Society, in 1969.

> The creation of a self-sufficient Micronesia will not be easy because it will require more than hard work. It will require also a change in attitudes and some values. It will require decisions about what should be done with people's savings. Are they to go on spending their money on luxury imports, or is there to be a heavy tax on motor cars, tape recorders, jewelry, and other non-essentials so that the money can be used to buy the basic needs for economic development such as roads, farm machinery, trucks for hauling, fertilizer, etc.[12]

Many of the educated political leaders of Micronesia have criticized the administration for this situation of dependency. Some of these leaders have recognized that economic self-sufficiency will require sacrifices. For example, former congressman Hans Wiliander of Truk, the

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[11]Fran Hezel, "Unholy Mackerel and the Almighty Buck," Friends of Micronesia 4, no. 4 (Winter 1974): 16.

[12]Mort Colodny, "The Colodny Papers," Micronesian Reporter, First Quarter, 1969, p. 43.

most outspoken advocate of political independence in the Congress, visualized an independent Micronesia, in which:

> . . . no fish would be imported, because of the development of small and medium sized fishing companies and cooperatives. Micronesia would import no onions, potatoes, lettuce and other . . . vegetables . . . no beer or alcoholic beverages . . . no cars . . . only essential farm equipment, jeeps, trucks and busses. Micronesia would import few if any outboard engines. . . . There would be no big resort hotels owned by foreign companies, but rather small, locally owned accommodations using local materials.
>
> Finally, in the Micronesia I envision, the people would lead productive lives in harmony with their cultures and not in an attempt to emulate western patterns of society and economics. Micronesian youths would be taught the values of their traditions and customs. Lore, skills and crafts of our ancestors would be taught and cherished.[13]

In spite of this and similar statements by other leaders, there is no convincing evidence of any widespead sentiment in favor of returning to the more simple life of the past among the leadership of Micronesia. On several occasions there has been vocal opposition from one or two members of the Congress to proposed pay increases on the grounds that they would increase the territory's dependency on the United States. These arguments never won any noticeable support. There has been little evidence of opposition in the Congress of Micronesia or the district legislatures to the steadily increasing levels of expenditures which have created this dependency. These bodies have not been quick to enact tax measures that would increase the share of the cost of government born by the people of Micronesia.

Many members of the Congress of Micronesia have contented themselves with criticizing the United States for "neglecting economic

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[13]Hans Wiliander, "Self Reliance," Friends of Micronesia 2, no. 5 (Fall 1972): 7-8.

development" without addressing the problem of controlling the cost of government. Of course, the members of the Congress and leaders in the administration have been the primary beneficiaries of increased government expenditures. Their salaries and benefits are rich, in comparison with any other salaried workers in the Territory. In addition, many of them have substantial business interests on the side. Their resentment of American control is genuine, no doubt. Their criticism of the United States' performance and their desire for self-government are most sincere. On the other hand, they have not been quick to embrace economic austerity as the road to their salvation.

In any case, it is difficult to see how Micronesia can have any real freedom of choice concerning its future political relationship with the United States as long as it is so totally dependent on United States grants for the operation of its government. Political independence is incompatible with complete economic dependency. This dilemma ia clear to the Micronesian political leadership.

It is far from certain that the connection between economic and political dependency is equally clear to the majority of Micronesians or, if clear, that it is a major source of concern. On the contrary, there is every evidence that the majority of Micronesians are adapting their behavior and expectations to the continuation of government subsidized wage employment, as a way of life.[14] Under the extended family system of Micronesia, even those who cannot share in wage employment can share in its benefits.

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[14]See, for example, David Nevin, The American Touch in Micronesia, pp. 184-211.

The economic dependency of Micronesia is a serious normative issue to the many educated missionaries, Peace Corps volunteers, and even some administration employees. It is far from clear that it is a normative issue to the Micronesian villagers. It is quite possible that the extension of this system could be seen as a desirable goal, a successful adaptation to the fact of foreign occupation.

CHAPTER VI

THE ISSUES OF MICRONESIAN POLITICS

Micronesian Politics: Sources and Opinion Makers

The Early Years

For the first decade and more of the trusteeship, the only forums for the expression of Micronesian opinion were the municipal councils and district advisory bodies, called congresses. These were formed at the behest of the administration. At first, Micronesian members of these bodies were inclined to view their participation largely as a means of pleasing the Americans. Most of their enactments were proposals of the district governor or administrator. Their approach to the administration was generally that of clients seeking favors, rather than that of adversaries or critics. The United Nations Visiting Mission of 1952 noted:

> The principal weakness of these councils, as the Mission was able to observe throughout its visit, rests at present in their reluctance to express themselves in a forthright manner.[1]

By 1956, there were a number of local grievances and requests for administrative action contained in communications to the United Nations Visiting Mission by the people of Saipan, Rota, Ponope, and the

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[1] Report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, 1953 (40), p. 6.

Marshall Islands, as well as by the student body at the Pacific Islands Central School (PICS), the one Trust Territory secondary school.[2]

The performance of the United States as administering authority got some critical attention in the reports of the visiting missions, though the earliest missions were more laudatory than critical. The debates in the United Nations Trusteeship Council, based on the administration's own reports and those of the visiting missions, provided some astute criticism of the administration. The same can be said of the hearings on the Trust Territory administration held by the United States congressional committees.

The most extensive and authoritative source of information on conditions in Micronesia, at any given time, can be found in the Annual Reports to the United Nations, prepared by the Trust Territory and transmitted by the State Department.

In 1959, the first of a number of books on Micronesia by visiting journalists and free-lance writers appeared: Trumbull's Paradise in Trust.

For many years, the development of political discussion and debate in Micronesia was inhibited not only by the lack of appropriate forums but also by the lack of a Micronesian press. The nearest thing to a free press was the district administration newspapers, which had more the character of a company employees' newsletter than that of an area newspaper. However, they contain much information of historical value about life in the early days of the Trust Territory.

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[2] Report of the United Nations Visiting Mission . . ., 1956 (Annexes), pp. 48-51.

The press of Hawaii and that of Guam provided a fair amount of coverage to events in Micronesia. Books and articles by Micronesian area scholars provided good analytical treatment of the problems of development and culture change in Micronesia. A number of the better-known area specialists played active roles in the Trust Territory--as advisors, consultants, or employees of the government.

Such government commissioned reports as the early economic survey by the United States Commercial Company consultants and the later one by Robert Nathan Associates, the report of the Stanford Research Institute on Manpower Development, and the master plan for the physical development of Micronesia by Hawaiian Architects and Engineers are all very revealing of conditions in Micronesia at the time of their writing. These span the thirty-three year history of the Trust Territory.

The newspaper articles and books of the early period, the Trust Territory and United Nations reports, the scholarly journals, the articles and editorials in the Pacific area newspapers; all of these had their impacts on political discussion and debate within Micronesia. Many Micronesian students and political leaders are well acquainted with these sources. The ideas they contain are often filtered through the political leaders to the large nonreading public.

The Development of a Micronesian Press

Beginning in the early sixties, a number of privately owned and operated newspapers were established in the several districts, flourished briefly and died. Two of these have prospered and endured and for a number of years have provided very comprehensive coverage of political

developments in Micronesia. One of these is the Marianas Variety, published on Saipan. The other is the Micronesian Independent, published in the Marshall Islands district center of Majuro. Both have good territorywide circulation. In addition to their news coverage, the various featured columns and letters to the editor, which appear, provide a continuous forum for the expression of every shade of political opinion. The Pacific Daily News on Guam provides almost as much coverage and commentary on Micronesia as do these papers published in the Trust Territory.

The government's own Micronesian News Service (MNS) disseminates information for the government through the news media. This includes criticism of the United States and the Trust Territory administration by the elected leaders of Micronesia. The government's public information office maintains a territorywide network of radio broadcasting stations. They broadcast reports and interviews with administration leaders, legislators, political candidates, and important visitors to the Trust Territory.

There are other critics of the Trust Territory administration, in addition to the native political leaders and visitors from outside the territory.

In 1967, the first group of Peace Corps volunteers arrived in Micronesia. They have performed valuable services in a wide range of fields, particularly in education, public health, and community development. At the same time, many Peace Corps volunteers have been among the severest critics of the American role, policies, and performance in Micronesia. To some extent this has also been true of persons employed

to work in Micronesia in community action programs funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity. A group of ex-Peace Corps volunteers, who served in Micronesia, have established an organization, the Friends of Micronesia, in the United States for the purpose of opposing the United States plans for Micronesia and for advocating Micronesian independence. They publish a quarterly newspaper, which is widely circulated and which contains many informative and highly critical articles about developments affecting Micronesia.

Constructive but often very harsh criticism of the Trust Territory government comes from various private groups who have given dedicated service to Micronesia. Among those are the Jesuit missionaries, who have contributed in an outstanding way to the educational, economic, and social development of Micronesia. The people could ask for no better friends than these. Many scholars who have written about Micronesian culture and politics have served in Micronesia as consultants and employees for periods of time. They too have filled the role of constructive critics. There have even been administration critics among administration employees.

All of these sources of political criticism and commentary have, in some way, informed and influenced the content of political discourse in Micronesia. The Micronesian political elite often demonstrate a great familiarity with these sources of ideas and information. For the great majority of Micronesians, however, reading is not a common practice, even among the literate. For these Micronesians, if this great body of literature is to have any impact, it is only as it is filtered through the educated and politically active elite. In this filtering process, it can naturally be assumed that some oversimplification and distortion occurs.

In the speeches and writings of the Micronesian leadership it is easy to identify a complex of issues on which political discussion and debate has been and is focused. It is not at all clear, however, how meaningful these issues are to the large majority who are only marginally involved in politics. It is questionable how meaningful they are to many English speaking, wage earning residents of the more developed islands, to say nothing of the non-English speaking, the elderly, the subsistence food gatherer and fisherman, and the outer island resident.

This very large question will be explored, to some extent, in part II. The remainder of this chapter will be given to identifying these very basic and important issues which are the stuff of politics in Micronesia.

The American Performance in Micronesia

> It is very clear to me that it is the Micronesians who have the trust, and it is the Americans that have the Territory.[3]
>
> Representative Ataji Balos

In the early days of the United States trusteeship, the focus of political discussion was almost exclusively on the American performance as trust administrator and the overriding issue was the United States neglect of its responsibilities under the Trusteeship Agreement. In addition, there were a number of specific Micronesian grievances arising out of actions of the United States and the Trust Territory administration.

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[3]Remarks by Representative Ataji Balos, of the Marshall Islands, concerning the problems of the exiled people of Eniwetok and the land negotiations of Roi-Namur Islands, in the House, First Regular Session, Fifth Congress, Febraury 23, 1973.

The issue of war damage claims against the United States and Japan was raised as early as 1948, in the reports of the economic survey team sponsored by the United States Commercial Company. The kinds of losses sustained by the Micronesians included damage to property and loss of life or personal injury.[4]

The survey team recommended that the United States "immediately set out to adjust" the claims against the Japanese "and reimburse itself from reparations." It also recommended that a claims commission be established to hear and establish claims against the United States.[5]

Under the Japanese administration, the Micronesians had been encouraged to accumulate savings in bank deposits, Japanese postal savings, and yen currency. The Micronesian desire to redeem holdings of Japanese currency and savings on deposit with the former Japanese savings institutions, and the rate of exchange on which the redeption would be based, was another type of war related issue.

In 1953, the United Nations Visiting Mission received two petitions for compensation for land expropriated by the United States or the Trust Territory goverments, two petitions for settlement of title to lands considered "public lands" by the Japanese, two petitions for processing war damage claims against Japan, and one for the redemption of postal savings accounts.

All of these claims and grievances of the people of Micronesia were to remain unresolved for many years. Petitions on these matters were

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[4]Douglas L. Oliver, ed., Planning Micronesia's Future . . ., p. 39.

[5]Ibid., pp. 39-40. Claims against the United States include both war inflicted damage and damages sustained by actions of agencies of the United States after the area was secured (post secure claims).

received by every United Nations Visiting Mission and they were on the agenda of every session of the United Nations Trusteeship Council dealing with the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands into the 1970s.

On April 18, 1969, the governments of the United States and Japan signed an agreement providing an ex gratia (i.e., without acknowledging legal liability) payment of $5 million from each, or $10 million total, for the settlement of war damage claims by both sides. This sum was criticized as woefully inadequate by Micronesian spokesmen. They also complained of the fact that Micronesians were not represented nor even consulted during the negotiations.

The Micronesian Claims Act of 1971 incorporated this provision of $10 million for war damage claims as Title I of the act. In addition, Title II provided $20 million for the payment of post secure claims against the United States.[6]

The Micronesian Claims Commission, established in accordance with the act, certified claims for over $32 million under Title II, which exceeded the funds appropriated for this class of claims by over $12 million. It was not until March, 1978 that the funds were made available to pay the remaining $12.6 million in claims.

Issues of Land Ownership

Probably the most important and complex set of issues between Micronesians and the administration have been those related to land ownership. According to Micronesian traditions, all land is communal

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[6] Interim Report of the Select Committee on War Damage Claims (District Law 4-202 and Resolution No. 5-17) to the Fifth Northern Mariana Islands Legislature (1977), section II, p. 6.

property, usually that of a kinship community. Seemingly unused land is subject to a variety of use rights. "In the eyes of the Micronesians, there exists no no man's land."[7]

Under the German administration, the policy was to issue ownership titles to land actually in use, mostly coastal land. Title to land not in use was vested in the community or district. Under the Japanese, land not in use, to which no title had been issued by the Germans, was considered in the public domain. It could thus be alienated to Japanese corporations and immigrant groups. The United States Trust Territory administration accepted as public land, to be held in trust for the people, all land so regarded by the Japanese. This point of view has never been accepted by the people of Micronesia.[8]

Furthermore, many Micronesians claim that, in the later years of the Japanese administration, land was often purchased under duress without adequate compensation or, in some cases, with none at all. The resolution of the many problems of land ownership has been greatly complicated by the fact that Japanese land records were lost or destroyed during the war. In addition, certain Micronesian-owned lands were made unfit for cultivation as a result of wartime construction, such as runways for aircraft.

Still another type of controversy involving land consists of land acquisitions by the United States and the Trust Territory governments under indefinite land-use agreements. Among the questions involved in this issue are those of the conditions under which the land was acquired

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[7]Douglas L. Oliver, Planning Micronesia's Future . . ., p. 10.

[8]Ibid.

(how much coercion and how much consent), the terms of these agreements and whether renegotiation is justified. These controversies involve the "right of eminent domain" claimed by the Trust Territory government but not accepted by many Micronesians.

The classic case of land acquisition by the United States government is that of the island of Kwajalein, expropriated for military usage in 1945 and the site of the Kwajalein missile test center. The Marshallese retained an American attorney to represent them in Washington. No agreement could be reached with the Marshallese on the question of compensation until 1964, when a ninety-nine year lease for $750,000 ($1,000 per acre) was accepted by both sides. This was double the original offer of the United States.[9]

In addition to the acquisition of the island of Kwajalein, the United States removed the inhabitants of fourteen other islands in the lagoon in 1964 so that they would be out of the missile test range. In the summer of 1968, and again in 1969, Marshall Islands Representative Ataji Balos of the Congress of Micronesia organized a "sail in" of former residents to force the halt of missile tests. One of the announced purposes of the sail in was to force the return of the islands to their owners and former inhabitants.[10]

The Victims of Nuclear Testing

The problem of the people of Bikini and Eniwetok, who were forced to move from their islands so they could be used for nuclear tests,

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[9]E. J. Kahn, Jr., A Reporter in Micronesia (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1966), pp. 85-86.

[10]Honolulu Advertiser, December 30, 1968.

has already been mentioned. The Bikinians were moved first to Rongerik, then after a few months they were moved to Kili. Unlike Bikini, Kili is a single island, without a lagoon, and with only .36 square miles of land. The Bikinians were given $25,000 in cash and a $300,000 trust fund. The people of Eniwetok were given the same lump sum and a $125,000 trust fund.[11]

The eventual return of the people of Bikini to their home islands has been an enduring issue. The population originally displaced in 1946 consisted of only 186 persons. Their numbers have grown to more than 500. In 1968, President Johnson announced that the atoll was no longer needed for testing and would be returned to the original inhabitants. By 1974, ninety-seven former inhabitants reportedly had returned to Bikini, including forty-five who had returned as a rehabilitation crew.[12]

Unfortunately, this was not the end of the story, or even the beginning of the end. In March 1978, news was received in the Trust Territory that the previous tests made to establish safe levels of radioactivity in the soil were in error. Contrary to previous opinion, Bikini is not yet safe for human habitation and, it was decided, will not be safe for many years to come. In 1979, discussion began on finding a new interim home for the Bikinians.

The people of Bikini and Eniwetok were not the only ones who suffered as a result of the use of their islands for atomic testing. On March 1, 1954, the world's first hydogen bomb was detonated on Bikini Atoll. The explosion churned up great quantities of dust from the earth

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[11] E. J. Kahn, Jr., A Reporter in Micronesia, pp. 75-76.

[12] Honolulu Advertiser, December 30, 1968

below. Clouds of this dust, looking like gray ash, rained down on the people of Rongelap Island more than 100 miles away. There had been no warning to the people about the possibility of fallout and they did not recognize the need to cover themselves or take shelter from these particles of dust. There were 83 inhabitants of the island exposed to the fallout that day. In addition, 154 inhabitants of the island of Utirik were exposed to a lesser dosage.[13]

Within forty-eight hours, about two-thirds of the exposed Rongelapese experienced nausea, vomiting, diarrhea, and, in some cases, itching and burning of the skin and eyes. Within two weeks, skin lesions and the loss of clumps of hair occurred. The people of both Rongelap and Utirik were evacuated to other islands for medical treatment and to allow the effects of radiation on their islands to dissipate.[14]

The skin lesions healed and the other symptoms disappeared in a rather short time. The full long-range effects of the radiation on the inhabitants of these two islands is still not fully known. It has been reported that 89.5 percent of the children of Rongelap have had thyroid abnormalities. Many have been sent to hospitals in the United States for surgery. A number of those on Utirik have developed thyroid nodules in the past several years.[15]

One young man of Rongelap, Lekoj Anjain, who was one year old when the radioactive debris fell on his home island, died of leukemia

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[13]Roger W. Gale, "No One Warned the Micronesians," Friends of Micronesia 3, no. 2 (Spring 1973): 13-15; from an article in The Nation, February 5, 1973.

[14]Ibid., p. 13.

[15]Ibid., p. 14.

in a National Institutes of Health (NIH) hospital in Bethesda, Maryland at the age of 19.[16]

With the encouragement of Marshallese leaders, the people of Rongelap attempted to sue the United States in the Trust Territory High Court. They asked for the sum of $8.5 million for

> property damage, radiation sickness, burns, physical and mental agony, loss of consortium and medical expenses (past, present, future and undetermined) by virtue of the negligence on the part of the United States.[17]

The United States Congress authorized $950,000 in compensation for the eighty-two inhabitants of Rongelap (Public Law 88-485) in lump sum payments amounting to about $11,000 for each affected person, after legal fees. This was in addition to modest compensation previously received for personal property lost during the period of evacuation, loss of copra income, the replacement of pigs and chickens, living costs during the forced exile, and the construction of new buildings on Rongelap.[18]

Spokesmen for the Marshallese expressed satisfaction at the sum of $950,000, during the Senate hearings, arising out of the incident. At that time, the Marshallese were unaware of possible additional long-range medical effects of the radiation.[19] When, a decade later, thyroid abnormalities and other medical problems became evident, the question of

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[16] Compensation for the People of Rongelap and Utirik, A Report by the Special Joint Committee Concerning Rongelap and Utirik Atolls to the Fifth Congress of Micronesia, February 28, 1974, appendix no. 8.

[17] Ibid., p. 23.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid., p. 22.

the adequacy of medical follow-up and treatment, as well as the question of compensation, again became an issue.

Eminent Domain

The problem of indefinite land use agreements and the right of eminent domain asserted by the government of the Trust Territory have continued to be subjects of controversy and were negotiating points in the future political status negotiations.

One writer has taken sharp issue, on legal grounds, with the claim that either the United States or the Trust Territory administration possesses a right of eminent domain in Micronesia.

> It is a power that is inherent in sovereignty and . . . turns on Western notions of land tenure and use. . . . In a Micronesian setting, one encounters two quite specific difficulties; First, the American administration is not a sovereign government in any sense. Second, the right of just compensation is predicated on certain assumptions concerning land ownership, alienability and availability which are peculiar to the West and do not obtain in Micronesia.[20]

The Trusteeship Agreement is the only legal basis for any exercise of authority in Micronesia by either the United States or the Trust Territory government. As the above referenced article points out, the Trust Territory courts have cited the Trust Territory Code as the legal basis for the right of eminent domain, implying that the Trust Territory can confer this power on itself. In practice, the United States has acted as though the Trusteeship Agreement conferred virtual sovereignty over Micronesia.

In commenting on the claimed right of eminent domain, the United Nations Visiting Mission of 1961 did not seem to question its

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[20]From an editorial in the Friends of Micronesia 4, no. 4 (1974): 19.

applicability to land acquisitions by the Trust Territory government for public purposes, "such as construction of schools, hospitals and roads, etc." It challenged the right of the United States to use this power for land acquisition for military purposes. In the words of the Visiting Mission:

> In several cases about which disputes as to ownership or compensation exist today, lands were acquired by the United States Navy compulsorily in the early years of the United States administration without the application of any specific law or legal procedure. Some of these lands are now described as "Navy retention lands." In several such cases, it appears that property was acquired . . . without that government or the Trust Territory Administration simultaneously seeking a settlement of the question of compensation either by mutual agreement with the parties concerned or in any other way.[21]

The power of eminent domain was a subject of considerable controversy in the Constitutional Convention which met in Saipan in 1975 to draft a constitution for all of Micronesia. In spite of the general resentment among Micronesians over the use of this power by the United States controlled administration, there were many among the participants who accepted the view that this power is essential to effective government and a necessary aspect of sovereignty. While acknowledging that it had been abused by the alien dominated administration, they argued that it could be assumed that a Micronesian government would exercise this power only in the interests of the people. This view was expressed by many of the younger, American university educated Micronesians, particularly those who had held high positions in the administration.

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[21] Report of the United Nations Visiting Mission for 1961, p. 32.

Some argued that the power should belong to the individual states, which were closer to the traditional communities, but not to the central government.

A number of participants were adamantly opposed to conferring any right of eminent domain on any level of government. The traditional leaders generally took this point of view. There were, however, those among the younger and more educated participants who also strongly supported this position. These same young men also tended to support the proposals which would incorporate a role for the traditional leaders in the new constitution.

The disagreement was handled in the time-honored Micronesian method of decision making by consensus. When no consensus exists, no decision is made. The draft constitution contained no reference to eminent domain.

To this point, the discussion of issues has centered on Micronesian claims and grievances against the United States government and the Trust Territory administration. Some of these issues, notably war claims, have been rather satisfactorily resolved and laid to rest. The ultimate disposition of war claims was rather fair and generous but much of the benefit to the United States image was lost by the fact that it happened only after years of agitation and took thirty years to accomplish. The problems of the return of so-called public lands to the people and the renegotiation of indefinite land use agreements have been generally resolved in the context of the political status negotiation. The general problem of the powers of the government with respect to the acquisition of land for public purposes has been inherited by the new emerging states of a self-governing Micronesia.

The grievances of displaced populations in the Kwajalein Atoll, Bikini, and Eniwetok and the lingering effects of radiation on the people of Rongelap and Utirik will probably never be settled to the satisfaction of the people concerned. At least the question of compensation has been addressed, if not finally settled.

The most important lasting effect of these controversies is the way in which they have conditioned the people's perceptions of the United States and its role in Micronesia. The Micronesians are well aware of the fact that the United States is in Micronesia for purposes of its own national interests. This awareness influences the attitudes of Micronesians on the desirability of continuing political association with the United States and on any question related to the character and terms of such a continuing relationship.

There are, of course, some positive aspects to the performance of the United States as administrative authority under the trusteeship and these are recognized. Because of the high expectations associated with education, eduation programs are always subject to criticism. Nonetheless, Micronesians recognize that the Trust Territory administration has educated many more of their people to higher levels of education than is likely to be found in any other colonial area in the world. The United States also introduced more Micronesians into relatively high positions in government much sooner than one would find in other similar colonial territories and has developed a cadre of well-trained legislators.

Although there have been many grievances among Micronesians concerning government land acquisitions, the government has been rather

scrupulous about preventing alienation of Micronesian land by non-Micronesian private interests. Non-Micronesians may not own land in the Trust Territory. Outside investors, including Americans, have not been permitted to invest in Micronesia unless they were providing a needed service that could not be provided locally. In such cases, the outside investors are limited to leasing land. In most instances, Micronesian participation in ownership is a condition of issuing a business permit. Even with these limitations, the government has been quite conservative in approving outside investment in Micronesia.

One of the principal criticisms of the United States administration of the Trust Territory has been the neglect of economic development. While there is, no doubt, much justice in this criticism, it needs to be pointed out that such business enterprises as do exist are overwhelmingly owned by Micronesians. It can be argued that this served the American interest in sealing off the territory for security reasons, particularly in the early years. Be that as it may, it has worked to the benefit of Micronesians.

After all of these things have been said on behalf of the United States administration, it is still safe to say that Micronesians are not particularly impressed with its performance as trustee. They have witnessed in the invasions of World War II and in the development of the Kwajalein missile test center and the Capital Hill complex on Saipan what the United States can accomplish when it has a sense of priority. They perceive the United States as neglectful of its responsibilities towards Micronesia, at best, and concerned primarily with the pursuit of its own national interests.

Specific Policy Issues

A number of specific administration policies have long been subjects of political controversy. The educational policies of the so-called "zoo period" were subjects of controversy, even within the administration. The most prominent of these issues was the policy that teaching in the local elementary schools would be in the local vernacular. The policy statement of the Department of Education permitted the introduction of English language instruction after two or three years, but only if certain conditions were met.[22] The most important such condition was that the students must first be able to read and write in their local language. Many Micronesian parents complained of this policy. They looked upon English proficiency as the key to obtaining higher education and the advantages it could open up for their children.

It is ironic that recent commentators have criticized the administration for not beginning the education of Micronesian childen in their local languages. It is now argued that learning is greatly facilitated by letting the child first acquire literacy in his own language. It is also charged that making English the exclusive language of instruction suggests to the child that the native language and culture are inferior and not worthy of learning. Both of these arguments were actually used by the Director of Education and his supporters in the 1950s in defense of the earlier policy.

The basic difference in the earlier and later policies was not primarily a matter of pedagogic theory, but one of objectives. The early

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[22]Robert E. Gibson, Trust Territory Language Policy, unpublished report, Headquarters, Department of Education, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Saipan, Mariana Islands, 1961.

philosophy was that the education system should be essentially a Micronesian system, preparing the children to live a Micronesian life style in the islands of Micronesia. It should not be a replica of the American system. The later policy was designed to prepare the children to live in a world that would be radically changed, under conditions of permanent political association with the United States.

There were other issues involved in the administration's concept of an appropriate education system. Opportunities for secondary education were deliberately limited. There was one middle school (through grade eight) in each district and a single high school for the entire territory. Consistent with the concept of limited development, it was assumed that only a limited number of academically educated Micronesians would be required as teachers, administrators, medical personnel, and storekeepers. The Micronesians wanted more opportunities for secondary education and more college scholarships.

With the change in objectives from a limited to an all-out development of Micronesia, there began a gradual shift in the focus of political controversy from the issue of neglect and towards the issues of forced Americanization and the growing economic dependence of Micronesia on the United States.

As previously indicated, the policy of the exclusive use of English as the language of instruction came under criticism as a derogation of Micronesian culture. In a similar vein, the practice of using standard American "Dick and Jane" textbooks was criticized as having no relationship to the world in which the Micronesian child lived. Another related critical theme was the charge of overemphasis on academic training and a corresponding lack of adequate vocational training in the schools.

In fairness to the education department staff, they have invested considerable time and effort in trying to adjust to meet these criticisms. Textbooks and courses have been developed on the history, languages, development, and problems of Micronesia. This is no small undertaking, when it is remembered that there are nine distinct languages spoken in Micronesia. Bi-lingual education and vocational training courses have been introduced. A separate vocational school was built in Palau for the entire territory.

The vocal critics of the Trust Territory education system are Americans and Micronesians who have been educated in American universities. Little support is found among the majority of Micronesian parents and public school students for vocational education or bi-lingual training. The universal aspiration is for the kind of education that will best qualify one for a well paid white collar job. Vocational training is, at the most, a second-best alternative.

> For a quarter of a century the richest and most powerful country in the world has been administering our little islands within the framework of a complicated and expensive bureaucracy . . . designed to perform the functions of a technological nation. . . .
>
> The U.S. transplant has been an attempt to graft an irrelevant educational system, with all of its stateside methods, curricula and expensive fixtures, onto our simple island life. It has introduced an inflated economy, based upon U.S. standards and a cost of living, geared to the padded Civil Service payrolls.
>
> If this process continues much longer . . . there will be no alternative but to . . . accept the seduction which will result in a complete dilution of our culture and our way of life. . . .[23] (underlining in the original)
>
> Representative Roman Tmetuchl

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[23] Roman Tmetuchl, from a speech delivered on August 25, 1970 to the Congress of Micronesia, Fourth Congress, 1971, Political Status Digest, part I, Saipan, Mariana Islands, the Congress of Micronesia, 1971, p. 49.

Perhaps the seduction of which Representative Tmetuchl spoke is now an accomplished fact.

> Almost angrily, [the Micronesians] press elementary students to compete for high-school positions, and they press American officials and their own political leaders to enlarge high schools so that everyone may go. But still, the government jobs are taken, and the basic society offers new graduates little to do, and the picture steadily darkens.[24]
>
> David Nevin

Issues Dividing Micronesians

As Micronesians gained increasing control over their government and as the question of the future political status of Micronesia moved toward resolution, politics ceased to be so predominantly a competitive struggle between the Micronesians on one side and the alien dominated administration on the other. Politics became increasingly a struggle for political control among competing Micronesian interests. Micronesian unity became the crucial issue. This involved the questions of whether unity could be preserved, how much unity is desirable, and how it is to be structured. The issue which first tested Micronesian unity was the question of the distribution of revenue derived from the Micronesian income tax. The issue involves more than just the question of complete unity versus complete separation into several autonomous states. Unity can be a matter of degree. Thus viewed, it is an issue of alternative constitutional forms, especially of the distribution of authority between the central government and the several districts or states.

In the constitution making process, controversy arose over the formal role, if any, of the traditional leaders in the new government to

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[24]David Nevin, The American Touch in Micronesia (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1977), pp. 148-49.

be. This represents the conflicting values of tradition and modernization and the struggle of the new elite against the old elite.

The Three Overriding Issues

In the whole complex of political issues with which the people of Micronesia have been confronted, three issues are of overriding importance to their future lives. One of these is the future political status issue, particularly the question of the closeness and duration of Micronesia's political ties to the United States. The second is the unity issue or the question of whether, to what degree, and in what form will the many islands of Micronesia remain together in a single political union? The third is the economic viability issue or what kinds and degree of economic development are possible and desirable and to what extent can the economic dependence of Micronesia on the United States be reduced?

These three major issues are so interrelated that they cannot really be separated. The question of self-government or independence cannot be examined, realistically, without reference to the question of economic dependency. Both the issue of economic viability and the issue of association with the United States have important implications for the issue of Micronesian unity.

In a sense, these three issues incorporate all of the others. The issue of the desirability or undesirability of long-range or permanent political association with the United States involves questions concerning the United States strategic interests in Micronesia. Among these questions are those of the designs of the military on Micronesian land and plans for the stationing of United States military forces in Micronesia.

The issue of the closeness and duration of Micronesia's political association with the United States raises the issue of the possibility

and desirability of preserving the Micronesian life-style and natural environment. The social consequences of United States military bases in Micronesia is but one manifestation of this relationship between political association with the United States and the possibilities of preserving a Micronesian life-style. It is commonly assumed that political integration with the United States means integration into the American economy. From the Micronesian point of view, what other motive is there for a permanent association with the United States? Along with the presumed benefits of modernization and economic development will come an American legal and educational system. To facilitate economic development, there will be greater outside investment, a greater influx of visitors, and a conversion of land, labor, and other resources from traditional to modern economic uses. Many of these developments are likely to pose serious threats to the natural environment.

Administrative policies and practices of the United States, as administering authority, have often been issues which have influenced attitudes concerning the issue of political association with the United States. Wage policy or the issue of "equal pay for equal work" is one such policy issue. Another is the issue of the rate at which the administrative positions in the government were converted to Micronesian incumbency. The process of conversion has now proceeded to the point that the issue is now moot. Wage policy presents Micronesia's new leaders with a serious dilemma. Among the more prominent contemporary issues is the question of the application of United States federal programs to Micronesia. Like wage policy, these federal programs offer considerable economic benefits at the cost of greater dependency on the United States.

Many of these specific issues, said to be related to the larger issue of future political status, are equally related to the issue of economic viability. The prospective increase in the military presence in Micronesia is as much an economic as a social issue. The issue of economic viability also raises questions of preservation of Micronesian ecology and life style. The present high level of wages and the application of various federal programs have been attacked as undermining both the life style and the prospects of Micronesia for a self supporting economy. Likewise, the nature of the educational system is said to arouse expectations that cannot be satisfied. It emphasizes preparing people for white collar jobs and not for the kinds of occupations that would be needed in a self-supporting Micronesian economy.

From the above, it can be seen that the three major issues of future political status, economic viability, and unity incorporate all other issues and intersect at many points. These are not dichotomous issues. One is not, necessarily, either for or against unity, association with the United States, or economic independence. There are many degrees of unity, association with the United States, or economic viability. Conflicting values are subject to all manner of compromises and trade offs.

Theoretically, the question of Micronesia's future political status covers a wide range of options. These include the option of complete integration into the United States political system as a territory, at one extreme, to complete political independence, at the other. On several occasions, it has been proposed that Micronesia be granted statehood in the federal union or incorporated into a larger Pacific

state, possibly by incorporation into the state of Hawaii.[25] It is at least theoretically possible that Micronesia could elect a permanent political association with a country other than the United States. As a practical consideration, this could only happen after achieving independence because, under the Trusteeship Agreement, the United States has to agree to any status change.

When the status issue was actually raised between the representatives of the Congress of Micronesia and the government of the United States, serious debate soon narrowed down to three status alternatives. These are the statuses of a commonwealth of the United States; a self-governing state in free association with the United States and political independence.

The status of commonwealth differs from that of a territory of the United States only in the degree of local self-government that it permits. The status is one of permanent association and the citizens of a commonwealth would be citizens of the United States. They would draft their own constitution, subject to certain conditions such as a requirement that it contain a bill of rights and provide for the separation of powers among the branches. All branches of the government would be controlled by local elected officials. The United States government would handle defense and foreign relations.

Under free association, the territory of Micronesia would be established as a self-governing state, which would then enter into a compact of free association with the United States. The people would be free to draft their own constitution, without interference, except that the

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[25]For example, this proposal was made by Baron Goto, Vice Chancellor of the East-West Center in Honolulu in 1964. Honolulu Star Bulletin, October 1, 1964, p. 4. It was also proposed by Senator Ernest Gruening of Alaska in 1969. Honolulu Advertiser, December 15, 1969.

United States would be responsible for defense and foreign relations during the life of the compact. The Micronesian government would have sovereign control over its own land, except that the United States would retain the right to lease certain predesignated lands for military purposes. In exchange, the United States would obligate itself to continued support of the government of Micronesia according to a preagreed formula. The most important distinguishing characteristic of the status of free association is that it may be unilaterally terminated by either side after the passage of an agreed upon period of years.

A minority of Micronesian leaders, particularly in the Congress of Micronesia, have consistently advocated political independence for the territory. Those who most strongly support independence are generally those who are most concerned about preservation of the Micronesian cultures and life-styles. It is not clear just how widespread is the support for this goal among the voters of Micronesia. It is certain only that the majority of Micronesians have misgivings about a close and permanent relationship with the United States. It is possible that many Micronesians would prefer independence, as an ideal, but doubt that it is a practical goal. Many of those who favor free association may prefer it because it is, by definition, an interim state, which leaves open the possibility of independence at some future time.

The Unity Issue

Informed observers of the Micronesian scene have long questioned the possibility that a self-governing Micronesia could remain united. This doubt was based on the ethnic diversity and insularity of attitudes of its people and the great geographic dispersion of its territory. In

spite of the difficulties inherent in maintaining unity under such circumstances, the Micronesian Status Delegation and the Congress of Micronesia gave very little attention to the unity issue during the first two or three years that the status question was under serious study and negotiation.

Except for the "unique" problem of the strong separatist sentiment in the Mariana Islands, the debate on the political future of Micronesia focused almost exclusively on the question of Micronesia's future relationship with the United States. The one notable exception was Representative Roman Tmetuchl, who made the following remarks in 1970:

> In the political area, we should strive toward a confederation of free states rather than a unified nation with a centralized government. Our respective constitutions and laws should pertain to the unique cultures of each district, by thus governing ourselves according to our unique customs and ethnic values, but by joining with other free states of Micronesia for logistic purposes, a common market, postal system, currency and other important functions, we will . . . each progress at our own rate. This will avoid the tensions and conflicts that inevitably arise when people of different ethnic backgrounds are <u>forced</u> to join artificially.[26]

The doubts Micronesians could retain its unity under conditions of self-government were proven to be well founded by the course of events, as shown in the discussion of political development in Micronesia. However, the question of unity is not necessarily a dead issue. Although it is unlikely that there will be any movement towards reunifying the separated areas in the foreseeable future, there is always the possibility of further fragmentation of the areas which now exist as political entities. In November 1977, the people of the Mortlock Islands in Truk district (now state) held an unofficial referendum in which they voted in favor

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[26] <u>Political Status Digest</u>, Fourth Congress, 1971, p. 51.

of separation from Truk. Such movements towards further fragmentation could occur at any time.

Conclusion to Part I

This discussion of political issues concludes part I of this study, which has been an examination of the political universe of the Micronesian people in its geographic, cultural, and historic context. It has, of necessity, been a broad brush treatment, dealing with the larger problems, the common historical development, and the major trends which have shaped the character of that political universe and molded the people's political perceptions. Any treatment which emphasizes that which is common to all of Micronesia must necessarily be rather broad and general, since it must largely ignore that which is unique in the natural environment, culture, and historical development of each island and island group.

Part II, the remainder of the study, is a comparative treatment of four island groups, selected for the contrasts they present. It is a description and analysis of unique political subsystems in their particular environmental, cultural, and historical development. Common elements will still be treated in common, but the unique characteristics of each subculture will be separately examined. The general patterns of political behavior and political attitudes will be examined in some detail and compared.

At the conclusion of chapter three, a diagram was presented, illustrating the expected realtionships between environment, culture, social system, personality, and political behavior in Micronesia. The three chapters that followed chapter three have dealt with political

development during the last thirty years and the political choices with which the people have been confronted as a result of developments during that period. This period has added a whole new set of variables to those included in the diagram on page 101.

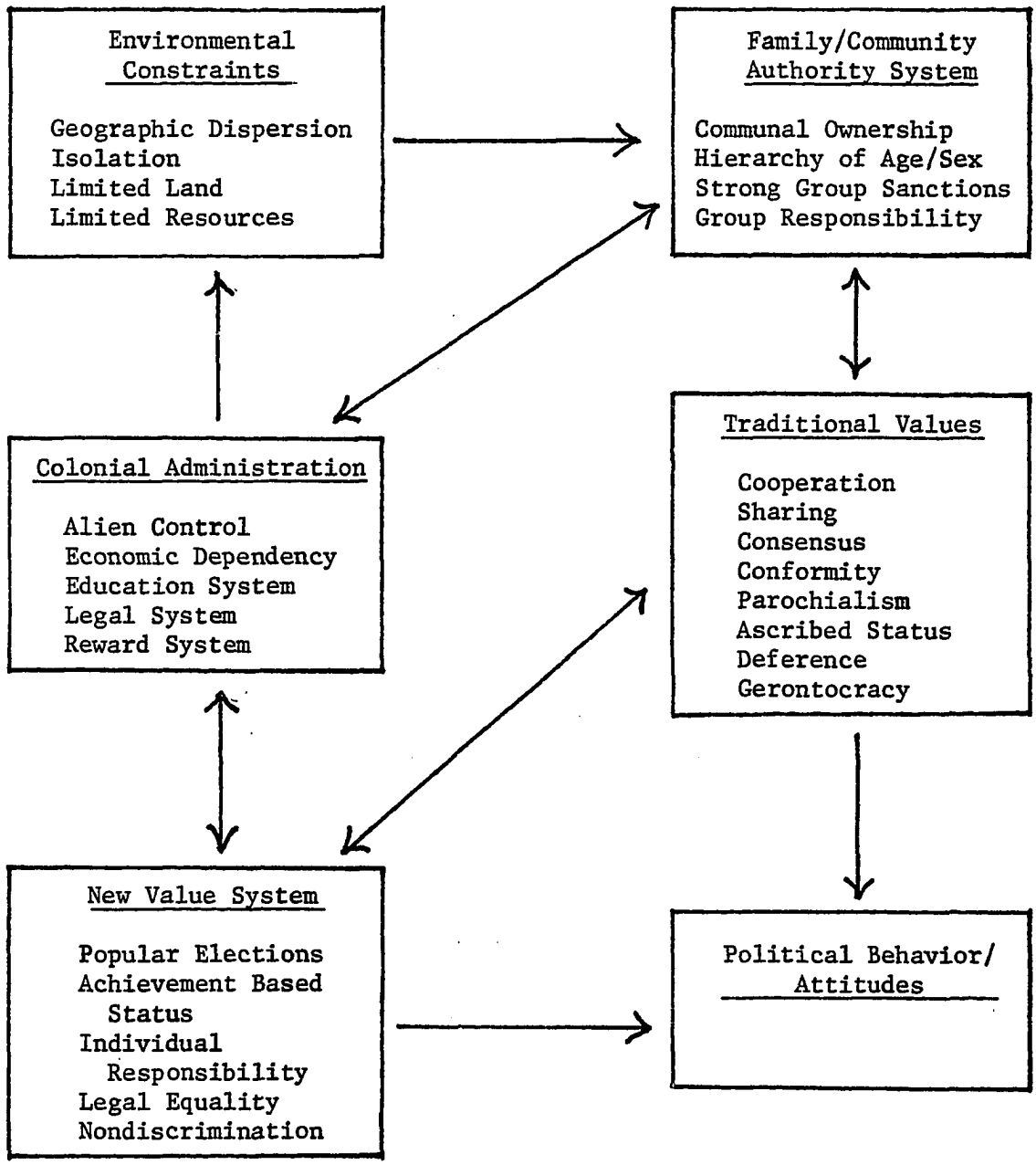
To conclude part I, figure 6 incorporates into the diagram new variables which influence political behavior, which have their origin in the thirty-year experience of American administration.

Every influence which shapes attitudes and behavior is modified by the colonial administration and its pressures for change. The natural environment is not fundamentally changed, but the conditions of dependency of the people on their environment is altered when the government assumes responsibility for their welfare.

Of course, these influences are mutual. The borrowed institutions and the new value system are modified by the traditional social system and values. These mutual influences are far from uniform. As previously noted, the nature and extent of the penetration of traditional society by the new institutions of change varies from island to island. The diagram below identifies, in the broadest terms, a number of variables which influence the development of Micronesian political behavior and attitudes. The ways in which these variables interact and the consequences of that interaction can only be assessed through the observation of the several political communities involved.

Figure 6

A Diagram of Relationships Between the Micronesian Environment, Traditional Values, Authority Systems, the Experience of Alien Administration, Imported Values and Political Behavior



PART II

POLITICAL CULTURE IN FOUR ISLAND GROUPS

CHAPTER VII

THE ISLANDS AND THE PEOPLE

The Area Included

The remainder of this study is a comparative analysis of political cultures in four island groups of Micronesia.

Any subdivision of Micronesia into cultural areas is somewhat arbitrary since cultural differences and similarities are matters of degree. Even within a cultural area, there are differences in local customs and dialect. Among the politically fragmented islands and island groups, even the possession of a common language and culture does not confer a sense of common identity. This condition is the essence of what is meant by the term "parochialism."

As indicated in chapter two, the languages of the Marshall Islands, Kosrae, Ponope, Truk, and the other Caroline Islands--exclusive of Yap and Palau--belong in the same branch of the Malayo-Polynesian language group. In Fischer's words:

> Ponope and Truk appear to be more closely related to each other than [to] Kusaie although this statement could bear further study. . . . The islands of Truk area are also closely related in culture to the low islands east of Yap in Yap district and south of Palau in Palau District. . . . Truk and

> Ponope share many features of culture and language which can only be explained by a common historical origin at some time in the past.[1]

Attributing a common origin to the languages in the eastern and central Carolines does not mean they are closely related. Fischer likens the relationship between the Ponopean and Trukese languages to the relationship between English and German.[2]

The four island groups included in the study are those that constitute the states of Truk and Yap and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (see map, next page). In geographic terms, they include the Mariana Islands, excluding Guam; the Yap islands complex; the outer islands of Yap, which includes all islands in the state of Yap, excluding Yap proper; and the islands of the state of Truk. These geographic subdivisions correspond to the cultural subdivisions which form the basis of the comparative study.

A case could be made for including all of Truk and the outer islands of Yap in a single cultural area. These are among the most closely related areas in Micronesia. Gladwin states that all of the islands in the Caroline Islands chain from Truk westward, excluding only the Yap Islands and Palau Islands proper, belong to a single cultural area, so similar that they must be assumed to have entered the area as one people. In other words, this cultural area includes not only the outer islands of Yap, but also the outer islands of Tobi, Sonsorol, Pulo Anna, and Merir, in the state of Palau. The similarities in the cultures of all of these islands to the west of Truk are striking. Truk, on the other hand,

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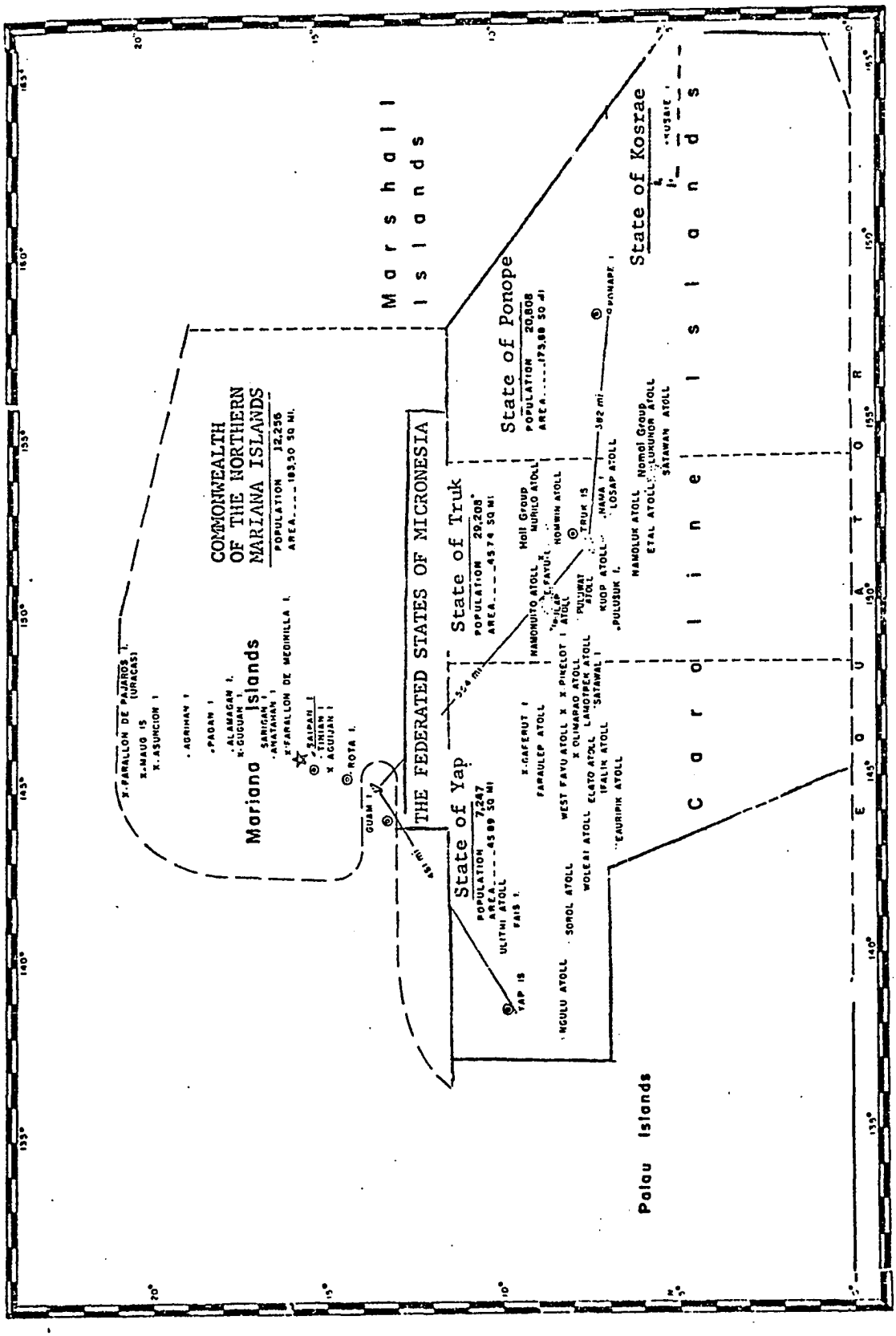
[1]John L. Fischer and Ann M. Fischer, The Eastern Carolines, Behavior Science Monographs (New Haven, Conn.: Human Relations Area Files Press, 1970).

[2]Ibid., p. 7.

Island Groups Included in the Survey



SOURCE: Office of Tourism, Government of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

exhibits a number of dissimilarities in relation to the others. This led Gladwin to conclude that it is the trukese who have changed, while the islands to the west are closer to the original culture.[3]

It should be noted that the people of Pulap, Puluwat, and Pulusuk in western Truk are more closely related to those in the outer islands of Yap, to their west, than they are to the other islands of Truk. Goodenough reported that the dialects of the people of these western islands are closely related but not mutually intelligible with the dialect spoken in the Truk lagoon. The Pulawatese say that while they can, with difficulty, understand the dialect of the people of the Mortlock Islands, to the south of the Truk lagoon, they cannot understand that of the lagoon inhabitants.[4]

By contrast with the cultural similarity of the islands of Truk and the outer islands of Yap, the Yap Islands proper and the Northern Mariana Islands each have very distinct cultures, only very distantly related to those of the other islands of Micronesia. The original inhabitants of these latter islands are believed to have entered Micronesia during different eras and quite likely by a different route than did those of the rest of the Carolines and the Marshall Islands. As pointed out in chapter two, the native languages of the Mariana Islands is classified in a separate branch of the Mayalo-Polynesian group in Dyen's classification

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[3]Thomas Gladwin and Seymour B. Sarason, Truk: Man in Paradise, Viking Fund Publicatin in Anthropology, vol. 20 (New York: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Inc., 1950), p. 36.

[4]Ward H. Goodenough, Property, Kin and Community on Truk, (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1951), p. 26.

scheme. Yapese is not only in a separate branch, it is not even in the Malayo-Polynesian group of languages.[5]

A substantial minority of the people of the Northern Mariana Islands are nineteenth century migrants from the outer islands of Yap, as noted in chapter two. The people in this minority are collectively known as Carolinians in the Mariana Islands. It might be expedient to refer to the people who live in the islands of their origin by the same term, but custom and usage do not sanction such a term for them.

There is some support in tradition for referring to all of the people in these outer islands to the east of Ulithi as Woleians, and to the area as Woleai. Woleai Atoll is but one of many in the area, but it ranked just below Ulithi in the old "Yapese empire" and was an intermediary link between Ulithi and the others in a tributary relationship with Yap. However, in spite of their close cultural relationship, it would be most correct to refer to the people of these islands as Woleians, Ifalukese, Lamotrekese, etc., according to their places of birth and residence.

The Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands

The Northern Mariana Islands consists of some fifteen high volcanic islands, stretching about 450 nautical miles north and south. Saipan, the island which was the administrative center for the entire Trust Territory until 1980 and is the capital of the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, lies about 1,500 miles due east of Manila and about the same distance south and slightly east of Tokyo. The Yap islands

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[5]This statement is true only with reference to the Dyen classification scheme. Like all Micronesian languages, Yapese is included in the broader group known as the Austronesian language family.

lie about 600 miles to the southwest of Saipan. The state capital of Truk, the island of Moen in the truk lagoon, lies about 750 miles to the southeast. Air traffic between Saipan and these other areas of the Trust Territory transits through the United States territory of Guam, which is about 125 miles due south of Saipan (see map on page 189).

Saipan, with forty-seven square miles of land area, contains 86 percent of the population of the Commonwealth. The de facto separation of the Northern Mariana Islands from the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands occurred on January 9, 1978, with the inauguration of the first elected governor and legislature of the new Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. Legally, it continues to be a part of the Trust Territory until the trusteeship is officially terminated for all of Micronesia. At that time, the people of the Northern Mariana Islands will become United States citizens in a permanent political association with the United States.

The only islands, other than Saipan, with significant population are Rota and Tinian. Rota, with a land area of thirty-two square miles, has 1,300 inhabitants or about 8 percent of the total population. Tinian, with thirty-nine square miles of area, has about 800 inhabitants or 5 percent of the total.[6] Though both are a bit smaller than Saipan, they seem to have as much potential for development. The fact that Saipan is, by far, the most developed island in the Mariana Islands and in Micronesia is attributable almost entirely to the decision of the United States to locate a major C.I.A. activity there and, later, the Trust Territory Headquarters. Saipan has the further advantage of being located close

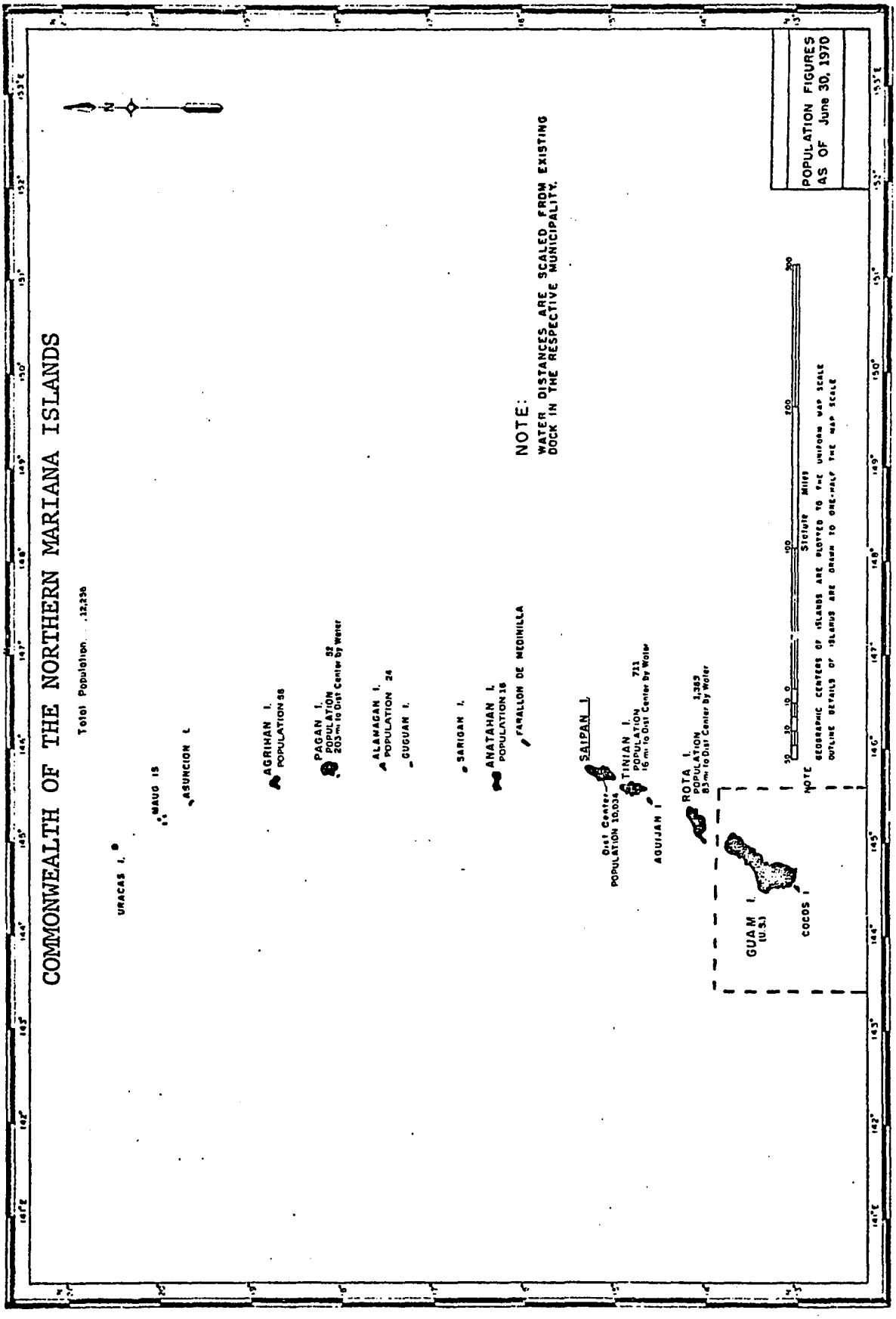
[6]The population estimates are for the year 1977, the period of the survey.

to Guam and on the air route between Guam and Tokyo, but these advantages are also applicable to Rota and Tinian.

The concentration of government investment on Saipan has made it, along with Guam, a market for the agricultural produce of Rota and Tinian. They are among the few islands in Micronesia with significant commercial agriculture. Aside from their pro rata share of government jobs, a couple of small hotels each and a few small merchants, Rota and Tinian have agricultural economies. Saipan, on the other hand, has enjoyed a growth in mercantile and service industries and in tourism unmatched elsewhere in Micronesia.

The native people of the Mariana Islands consist of two distinct ethnic groups. The original inhabitants and the present majority are the Chamorro people. They are by far the most acculturated people in Micronesia and have been so since the Spanish colonial era. They constitute about 75 percent of the population of the Mariana Islands. The other native group is the Carolinians, who migrated to Saipan from a group of the more remote outer islands in the present districts of Yap and Truk. Their first migration occurred in 1815. They are still concentrated on Saipan, where they constitute about 25 percent of the population. They make up about 20 percent of the entire Mariana Islands population.

In addition to Saipan, Tinian, and Rota, there are three other islands in the group that are presently inhabited. These remote islands, collectively called the Northern Islands, contain but one percent of the population of the Mariana Islands. For voting purposes, they have always been included in one of the electoral districts on Saipan. In terms of living conditions and life style, they are typical of outer islands in the Trust Territory. (see map on page 194)



SOURCE: Office of Tourism, Government of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

The State of Yap

The peoples that make up the state of Yap in the Federated States of Micronesia provide the sharpest possible contrast with the people of the Mariana Islands. If all of the island groups of Micronesia were ranked on a continuum measuring their relative degrees of acculturation, the Mariana Islands and the Yap outer islands would occupy the polar positions. They are obviously the most and least acculturated, respectively.

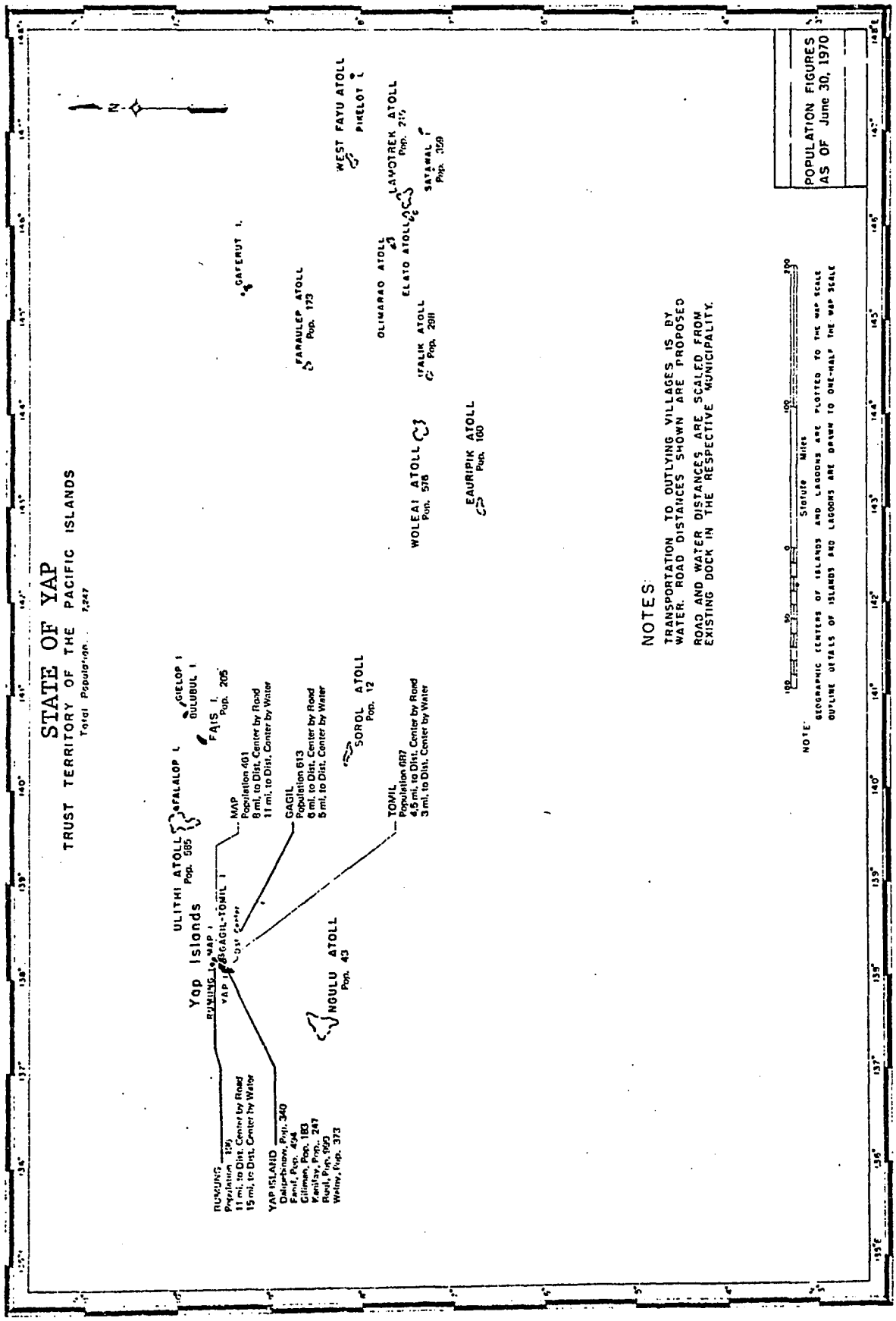
As stated previously, the islands that comprise the state of Yap fall into two distinct groups, representing distinctive cultures, languages, and origins.

The term Yapese only applies to the people who inhabit a small complex of four islands, so close together that they are all linked into one unit by causeways. It is in these islands that the state capital is located. These islands are of the high volcanic type. They have a total land area of thirty-nine square miles. They lie about 450 miles southwest of Guam, and about 1,100 miles east of the Phillipines.

The outer islands of Yap state consist of some nine atolls and one lone island, scattered over an area of about 700 miles, west to east, between the Yap islands and the westernmost islands of Truk district. They are low islands. (see map on page 196)

The Yap Islands

The Yap Islands complex, like every other administrative center in Micronesia, represents a blend of traditional Micronesian culture, with the cultures of a succession of foreign occupiers. In Yap there is



SOURCE: Office of Tourism, Government of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

a much greater component of the traditional culture in this blend than is true of any other administrative center. For some reason, Yapese culture has demonstrated a greater resistance to imposed cultural change than has that of any of the other islands, similarly situated.

Until the island of Kosrae separated from Ponope district and became a district (later a state) in its own right, Yap was the smallest administrative district in the Trust Territory. The Yap Islands proper, with thirty-nine square miles of area and a population of 5,376 (in 1977), have 65 percent of the state's population and 89 percent of its area.

The Yap Islands complex is very much like every other administrative center in Micronesia. There is a small pocket of development surrounding the state's administration offices in the village of Colonia. It is in this area that most of the stores, modern houses, and office buildings are concentrated. Most of the Yapese live in villages as much as ten or twelve miles from the center, accessible only over abominable dirt roads. (see map on page 196)

The villages may, or may not, be modern to the extent that they are served with electricity or running water. The villagers live in houses of their own construction, which may be of corrugated metal, plywood, or traditional materials (woven fibre walls and thatched roofs). Many Micronesians have learned to build concrete block houses, tile their floors, and install modern plumbing and kitchen equipment. The Yapese are less inclined to to this than are other Micronesians, since it has the appearance of setting oneself above others and would be considered poor taste.

Micronesians working in the administration have a tendency to secure land for houses near their work site. This is difficult for the

Yapese to do because of the importance of one's family land and one's village in the social system. Except for land held as public land by the government, there is not a great deal of land that can be acquired by purchase. Most workers return to their villages at night.

There are two substantial minority groups in Yap. There is a settlement of Palauans living in a village adjoining the capital complex. Their exact number is not know, but they are well represented in the labor force. Another group, living in a concentrated area of the same village, consists of people from the outer islands of the state. Some of these are permanent residents, but the majority are transients who visit Yap for medical treatment or other temporary purposes.

The Economy of Yap

Like most islands in Micronesia, Yap has no significant export, except copra. The economy consists of government employment and those merchandising enterprises and other small businesses that subsist off of the money generated by government salaries and other government expenditures. Unlike other states, Yap has made no effort to develop a significant tourist industry. It is the only district center that does not have at least one resort hotel. It has two very small, locally owned hotels, with about ten rooms each, which handle all of the transient visitors. Its biggest private enterprises are four grocery and general merchandise stores, of which Yap Co-op is the biggest; the air and shipping lines; and one or two construction companies. The construction companies rely almost entirely on government contracts to survive. It has a small handicraft store and a movie theatre.

The Outer Islands of Yap District

After visiting other state capitals, one is impressed with Yapese conservatism and resistance to change. After going from Yap Island proper to the outer islands of the state, one quickly acknowledges that conservatism and change are relative terms. Compared to the outer islands, Yap seems to be changing at a dizzying pace.

These outer islands of Yap are, perhaps, the most conservative and least touched by the forces of change of all of the islands of Micronesia. As the most isolated islands in the larger cultural area, which includes the islands of Truk, they probably represent the ancient culture more truly than any of these other islands, with the possible exception of the Western Islands of Truk, their nearest neighbors.

One obvious sign of cultural conservatism is the prevalence of traditional dress. Yap is the only capital seat where it is still not uncommon to see men in the traditional breechcloth, or thū, as it is called, and women in grass skirts. However, this practice has greatly declined in the past decade. In 1966, it was quite common to see men at work in the office wearing the thū. Outside of the immediate environs of the capital complex, traditional dress was the rule. Now traditional dress is never seen in the offices and it is becoming uncommon in the villages, except on ceremonial occasions when almost everyone wears the traditional attire.

The traditional dress for men in the outer islands is, likewise, the thū. For women, it is an hibiscus fibre wraparound skirt or lava lava, worn without a top. In the outer islands, traditional dress is still universal. It is worn on all occasions.

The outer islands consist of ten separate atolls and one island (Fais). The general physical characteristics of the outer islands can be made clear by describing Ulithi Atoll. Aside from the fact that it is the largest atoll, its characteristics are much the same as the others.

Its reef encloses a great lagoon, twenty-four miles in length and fifteen miles wide at the longest and widest points. It has extensive living coral reefs, a condition conducive to fish production. The enclosed lagoon area is 183 square miles, compared to a land area of 1.8 square miles. It has some twenty to thirty islets, of which only ten or twelve are large enough to support any population. Only five are currently inhabited.

The largest island in the atoll is Falalop. It is the most developed of the outer islands, since it is the site of the Outer Islands High School, as well as of the office of the District Administrator's Representative for the outer islands.

As a result of the presence of the high school, it has a few modern concrete houses built for contract teachers during the accelerated school construction program. The high school employs a few American teachers, a few Micronesian teachers from the outer islands, and an American principal. In this respect it is quite atypical of outer islands. In spite of this concentration of government activity, Falalop has generated no private employment, except for two or three small family stores.

Falalop is unique among the outer islands in that it has an airstrip adequate to accommodate the small aircraft of the Pacific

Missionary Airline (PMA), which provides flights to and from Yap and Ulithi (sometimes on to Guam) almost every day and sometimes twice a day. The aircraft accommodates about six to eight passengers plus cargo for the government and the local stores. It keeps Ulithi in constant contact with Yap and Guam. For other outer islands, contact is only by ship and radio.

The dimensions of this largest island can be visualized by noting that the airstrip, which runs the full length of the island, is 3,300 feet in length. The island's width is possibly two-thirds this length. It is nine feet above sea level at the airport. The airstrip doubles as a road and there are one or two dirt roads radiating off of it and one that circles along the beach on one side of the island. There are several vehicles on the island to haul supplies and equipment.

The presence of government on the other four inhabited islands of the atoll is limited to an elementary school with perhaps two Ulithian teachers and a small dispensary with a health aide or perhaps a "medex." A "medex" is a graduate of the Trust Territory nursing school, who has been further trained to act as a doctor in prescribing for most common types of medical problems. In some cases, there may be a Peace Corps volunteer, probably in a teaching capacity. Except for the cash income generated by copra sales, the two or three salaried teachers and medical personnel and the inevitable small family store, the other islands in the atoll are strictly in the subsistence economy.

The traditional government is still very much in operation in the islands of ULithi Atoll. Apart from the running of the school and dispensary, community decisions are still made by the elders in council,

presided over by the village chief. If the government representative requires any cooperation from the community, he takes his request to the chief. Nothing is done by the government which would significantly affect the community, without clearance from the chief. If it is a truly significant matter, the chief will take council with the elders before making reply.

There are no roads or vehicles on the islands, other than Falalop. There are only footpaths. The traditional community house and the canoe house face the beach and dominate the harbor. In appearance and life-style, there is little to distinguish these islands from the most remote outer islands. In fact, Woleia Atoll has almost the same land area and within 100 persons of the same population. Its 1.75 square miles of territory is home to over 600 people, compared with Ulithi's 700. Except for the frequency of outside contact and the greater presence of government on Falalop Island, the life on these two atolls will be very much the same.

The State of Truk

The capital of the state of Truk is located in a very large deep-water lagoon. The lagoon ranges between thirty and forty miles across and encloses an area of 822 square miles. It contains a number of uninhabited low islands, in addition to eleven inhabited islands, all of the high volcanic type. The lagoon is very close to the geographic center of Micronesia.

The Truk lagoon contains the greatest concentration of population in Micronesia. In 1973,[7] it contained 24,207 inhabitants or

[7]The year 1973 was the year of the last comprehensive census. It was also the last year that the Trust Territory government published

76.7 percent of the state's total population of 31,557. It contains very close to the same proportion of the total area of the state, with thirty-seven square miles of land, or 78.3 percent of the total. (see map on page 204)

The heaviest concentration of population within the lagoon is on the island of Moen, the state capital. With just over seven square miles of area, it has 19.7 percent of the land area in the lagoon. With a population of 9,562 in 1973, it contained 39.5 percent of the lagoon inhabitants. Its population density was 1,310 per square mile, which was almost certainly the highest in Micronesia. This is accounted for by the lure of wage employment, which is always heavily concentrated in the administrative centers.

Although the Truk Lagoon has the bulk of the population, there are four scattered groups of outer islands that have quite significant populations by Micronesian standards. The outer islands are all of the low coral type. (see map on page 207)

The Mortlock Islands are the most heavily populated of the outer island groups. These consist of eleven islands in six atolls scattered over a line running south and slightly east from the Truk Lagoon. They range in distance from about forty miles to about one hundred and fifty miles from the state capital. As of 1973, they supported a population of 4,685, on a total area of 4.6 square miles of land. This gave them a population density of 1,023 persons per square mile.

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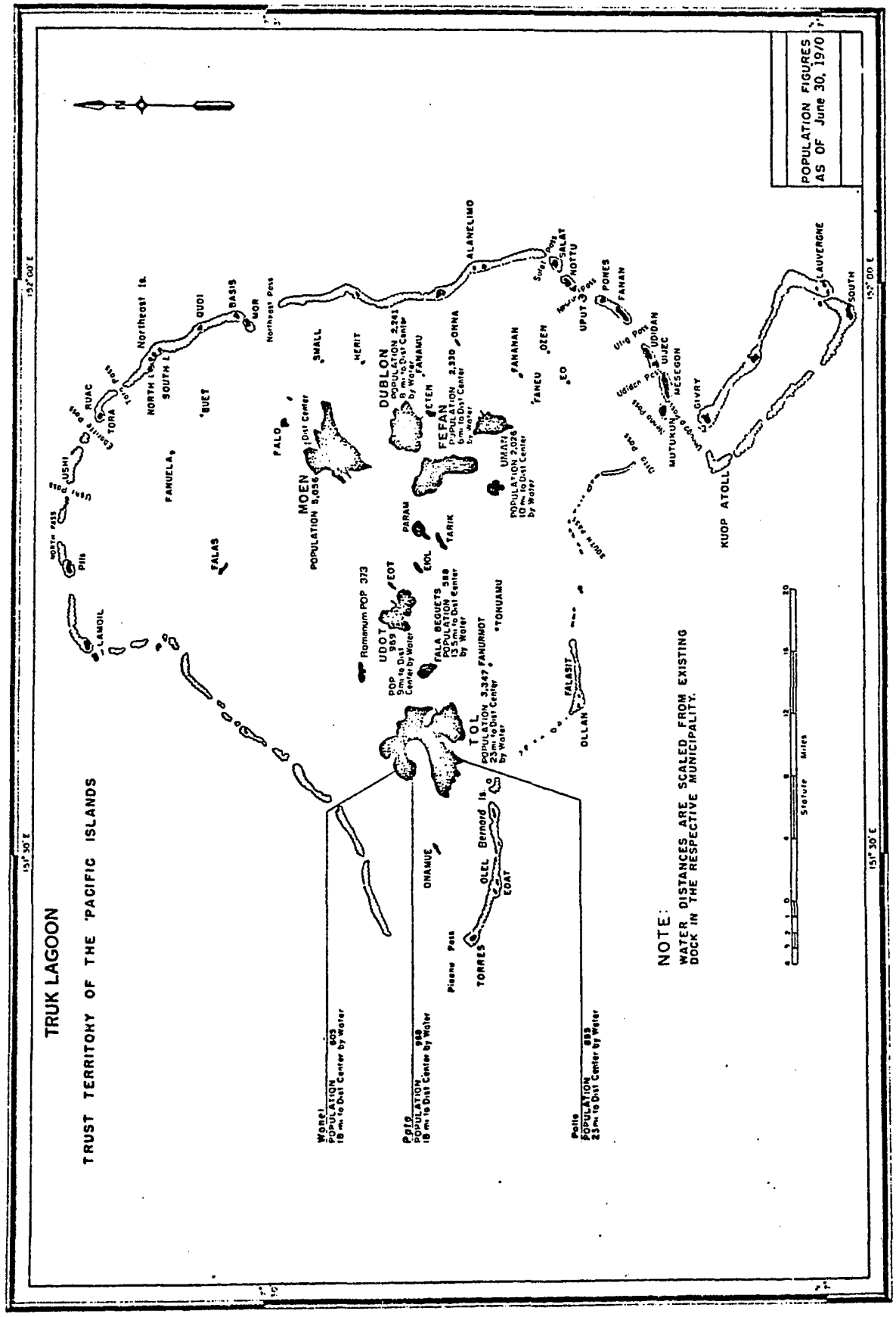
population estimates by individual island. Later annual reports show estimates for the several administrative districts as a whole, but no finer breakdown.



SOURCE: Office of Tourism, Government of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

The largest of these is the Satawan Atoll, with an area of 1.8 square miles and a population of 1,842 in 1973. It is the southernmost of a group of three atolls--Satawan, Lukunor, and Etal--which are collectively known as the "Lower Mortlocks." It was designated a subdistrict center in 1971. A high school has since been constructed on Satawan. In general, its situation is quite similar to that of Ulithi Atoll, except that it has about two and one-half times the population of Ulithi on the same amount of land.

Roughly 130 miles west of the Truk Lagoon, in a general north-south line, are the atolls of Pulap and Pulawat and the island of Pulusuk. These are the so-called Western Islands of the state of Truk. They are close neighbors to the easternmost islands of Yap, with which they share a common culture and history. They were a part of the ancient Yapese empire or tributary system. They are the most conservative and least acculturated islands in the state. They have a total area of 2.8 square miles and had a 1973 population of 1,170, which gave them a density of 422 persons per square mile.

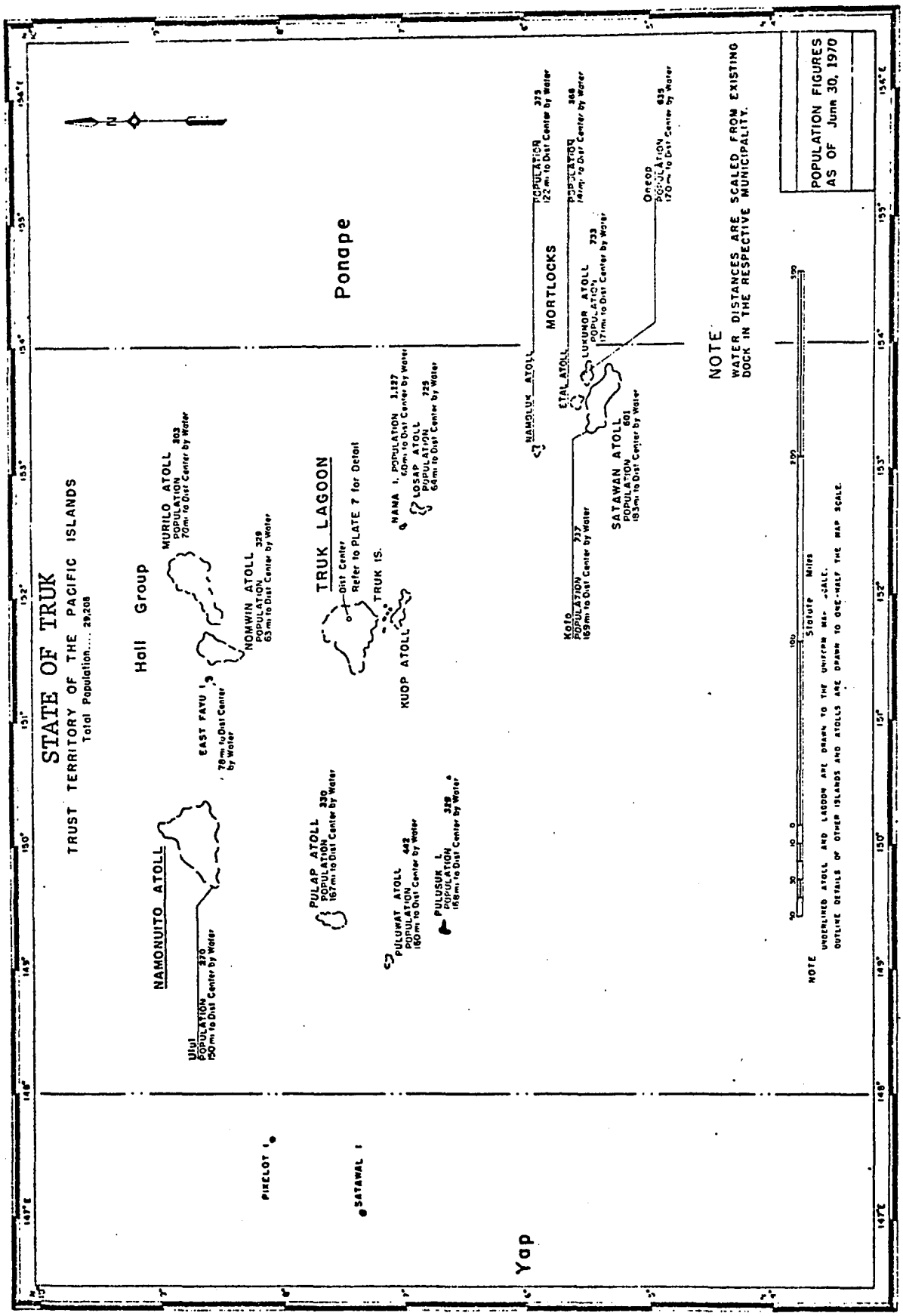
To the north of these Western Islands is the atoll of Namonuito. The atoll is almost as extensive as that of the Truk Lagoon, but it contains only five small islands, with a total area of 1.7 square miles. It has a total population of only 640 or 376 per square mile. It, too, was a tributary of the Yapese.

To the east of Namonuito and roughly due north of Truk Lagoon are the two atolls, each with two inhabited islands, which make up the Hall Islands. As of 1973, they had a population of 855 on a land area of 1.2 square miles, or 701 persons per square mile.

Moen, the State Capital, and the Lagoon

As is the case in all areas, government expenditure and the employment which goes with it are concentrated in the state capital in Truk. To some extent, the other islands of the Truk Lagoon share in this development. Many residents of other lagoon islands commute to work on Moen, particularly from such nearby islands as Dublon and Fefan. At 5:00 p.m. on weekdays, one can see the commuter motorboat traffic streaming from Moen to these other islands. These islands are populous enough to employ a fair number of teachers and other government employees in their own right. They have as much opportunity to participate in the fishing cooperative and sell their catch in the Moen central market as do the residents of Moen. There may be a considerable number for whom intermittent employment on Moen is the pattern. However, it is probably safe to say that most of the residents of these other lagoon islands rely mostly on subsistence agriculture and fishing. Except for the fact that they can rather easily sample the urban life of the nearby island of Moen, life on these other islands is closer to that of the outer islands than it is to that of the state capital. They have no roads, only footpaths. They go from village to village by boat. There is very little physical development.

The island of Moen has quite a bit of commercial development. It has one of the three tourist hotels developed by Continental Airlines in Micronesia. There are three hotels owned by Trukese, with perhaps twenty to thirty rooms, each. It has a number of sizable grocery and general merchandise stores. The largest of these is the Truk Trading Company, which dates back to the days when the Island Trading Company



SOURCE: Office of Tourism, Government of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

was promoting such local mercantile enterprises. It is one of the largest, if not the largest, Micronesian owned corporation. There are several other stores of the supermarket type, and a number of smaller ones. There are several restaurants, a movie theatre, and some visitor oriented businesses, such as a diver's shop, tour guides, and rental agencies for cars and boats. There are service stations, auto repair shops, construction companies, and other service industries.

Moen has a unique transportation system. There are innumerable cars and pickup trucks operating as taxis. During business hours, it is usually possible to get one in a span of a few minutes from any spot in the business or government office complexes. The standard fare is twenty-five cents to any place on the island. It must be shared with all others going in the same general direction, up to the capacity of the vehicle. The pickup trucks often carry from six to ten passengers at a time. It is not particularly comfortable, given the abominable state of the roads. However, it is a very fuel efficient system, which moves large numbers of people and provides employment to quite a few drivers.

Truk has a fishing cooperative, which provides a cash income to a number of lagoon residents. It does not have the kind of capital equipment that would be found in export fishing industry. It is a small-scale industry that does not even keep the local market fully supplied.

The Outer Islands of Truk

The islands to the north and south of the Truk Lagoon, the Halls and Mortlocks, are closely tied to Truk and exhibit a much greater degree of change than do the Western Islands. Given the prevailing winds through most of the year, these islands have been much more easily reached from

Truk than were the Western Islands. According to the geneological accounts of the Mortlockese, many of their ancestors migrated from Moen in the not distant past. During the period of the Trusteeship, it is clear that many Mortlockese have, in turn, migrated to Moen in search of employment. They have also migrated to Ponope Island, where they have strong ties.

The Mortlockese are eager for change but their islands offer little basis for any kind of economic development. It is hard to imagine any kind of an economy for these outer islands, except their traditional subsistence food growing and fishing economy, supplemented by the sale of copra. Although their population density is a bit lower than that of the Truk Lagoon, they have less resources with which to sustain a growing population. They were struck by a severe typhoon a few years ago, which for a time had a disastrous effect on their food supply. They have been sustained for several years by United States (USDA) food distributions.

The Mortlockese have been aggressive in the pursuit of education. There is a strong traditional rivalry between the Moenites and the Mortlockese. The Mortlockese have held a disproportionate share of leadership positions in government and in private business in Moen. Two villages on Moen are inhabited by people from the Mortlocks. A high percentage of college graduates from Truk are Mortlockese.

Using the prevalence of native dress as a symbol of the degree of acculturation of an island, it can be said that traditional dress is unknown today in Truk, except among the people of the Western Islands. It is common, but not universal, among the people in the Western Islands. The young people from the Western Islands, who must come to Moen for high

school, wear western dress while away from home. In time, this exposure to the urban center will bring them into the cultural orbit of Truk. It is difficult to see what can bring them out of their native subsistence economy, other than migration.

The Four Island Groups: An Economic Comparison

The economic comparison between the four island groups of the Northern Mariana Islands, Yap Islands, the outer islands of Yap, and Truk may be clear from the remarks already made. However, these comparisons may be sharpened and clarified in reference to some data depicting the long-range trends of development which have occurred under the trusteeship.

In the thirty-two years of the existence of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, there has been a rapid growth in population. During this same period, there has been a considerable movement of population from the outer islands to the administrative centers. There has also been movement of population from the other island groups and from outside the territory to the Mariana Islands. Table 7 shows population trends in the administrative centers and outer islands in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands and the states of Yap and Truk, compared with the trend for the entire Trust Territory. It also illustrates the effects of these changes on population densities.

As this table shows, the population of the Trust Territory grew by 115 percent in this twenty-four year period. This suggests a doubling of the population in just under twenty-one years. This places Micronesia among the areas with the fastest growing population in the world.

Table 7

A Comparison of Area (Square Miles), Population Density in 1973, and Population Changes in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands and the States of Yap and Truk and the Entire Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands for the Years 1949, 1965, and 1973

	Area (Square Miles)	Population Density: 1973	Population: 1949	1965	1973	Population Change	Percent Change (1949-1973)
Northern Mariana Islands:							
Saipan	47.01	263	4,771	8,422	12,384	+ 7,613	160
Tinian	39.30	18	352	544	714	+ 362	103
Rota	32.90	34	665	1,182	1,104	+ 439	66
Northern Islands	41.49	3	283	338	130	- 153	- 54
Total Mariana Islands	160.70	89	6,071	10,486	14,332	+ 8,261	136
State of Truk:							
Truk Atoll	37.00	654	9,625	17,937	24,207	+14,582	152
Mortlock Islands	4.58	1,023	3,769	5,576	4,685	+ 916	24
Hall Islands	1.22	701	517	880	855	+ 338	65
Namonuito Atoll	1.71	374	392	448	640	+ 248	63
Western Islands	2.77	422	654	979	1,170	+ 516	79
Total Outer Islands	10.28	767	5,311	7,883	7,350	+ 2,039	38
Total State of Truk	47.28	667	4,936	25,820	31,557	+16,621	111
State of Yap							
Yap Islands	38.67	133	2,686	3,982	5,139	+ 2,453	91
Outer Islands	7.10	384	2,182	2,456	2,729	+ 547	25
Total State of Yap	45.77	172	4,868	6,438	7,868	+ 3,000	62
Total Trust Territory	687.00	167	53,446		114,973	+61,527	115

These figures confirm what was said earlier. Saipan is the only island in the Mariana Islands that is growing faster than the overall Trust Territory rate. While Tinian is growing slightly below the overall Trust Territory rate and Rota is growing 43 percent below the overall rate, Saipan is growing 39 percent above the Trust Territory rate of growth. This is sufficient to give the Mariana Islands a growth rate 18 percent above the Trust Territory rate.

The population of Truk is growing at a rate that is about 4 percent below the overall Trust Territory rate of increase. The redistribution of population can be seen in the fact that the Truk Lagoon has grown at a rate that is 32 percent above the rate of increase for the Trust Territory, while the outer islands of Truk are growing at a rate that is 63 percent below the overall rate for the Territory. In fact, the outer islands of Truk showed a slight decline in the period of 1965 to 1973. It is clear that the growth in these outer islands is being siphoned off by migrations to the state capital, to Saipan, and to some extent, no doubt, to Guam, Hawaii, and the mainland United States. It is unlikely that many are being lost to the outside world because the overall growth rate of the Territory is too high and too consistent.

The same pattern of higher relative increase in the state capital than in the state as a whole is also evident in Yap. The population of the administrative center grew at a rate of 91 percent, compared with only 25 percent in the outer islands and 62 percent for the state as a whole. However, even the capital center grew at a rate that was 21 percent below the rate for the Trust Territory as a whole. This is modest increase, indeed, when it is considered that much of it had to come from

the outer islands. Although the outer islands grew at a modest rate of 25 percent, seven out of the eleven atolls and islands included in the state's outer island population actually lost population during this period. Ulithi was one of the bigger gainers, with a 56 percent increase. This is due to migrations to Ulithi from the other more remote islands, in large measure. The other gainers were Ifalik, Lamotrek, and Satawal, which are among the most distant islands from the capital center islands.

The rate of population increase is obviously correlated with the stage of economic development in the state. The Mariana Islands have the highest rate of economic development and it tends to be concentrated on Saipan. Truk is next in economic development and it is very heavily concentrated in the state capital. Yap has the lowest rate of economic development. The following table illustrates these comparisons.

The contrast between Yap and the Mariana Islands brings out very clearly the relatively unfavorable position of Yap with respect to the number of jobs available and, particularly, with respect to the number available in the private sector. These figures may give the impression that Yap is more economically developed than Truk. Actually, the capital center island of Moen in Truk is much more developed than Yap. The lower percentage of employment in Truk reflects the much larger outer island population in that state.

The true comparison between government and private employment is more unfavorable to the private sector in all areas than these figures suggest. The Social Security Administration includes only the Trust Territory government under the category of government employees. Employees of the state legislatures, the municipal government, civilian employees

Table 8

A Comparison of Government, Private and Total Wage Earning Jobs in the Northern Mariana Islands and the States of Yap and Truk: In Terms of the Percentages of Government and Private Jobs in Total Employment and as Percentages of the Total Working Age Population, Adjusted to Exclude the Estimated Number of Students, 1975

Subdivision	Estimated Resident Population	Estimated Working Age Population[1]	Employment: Government	Private	Total
Northern Mariana Islands					
Number	15,180	6,425	2,030	1,965	3,995
Percentage of Employment			50.8	49.2	100.0
Percent of Working Age Population			31.6	30.6	62.2
State of Yap					
Number	7,990	3,363	769	418	1,187
Percent of Employment			64.8	35.2	100.0
Percent of Working Age Population			22.9	12.4	35.3
State of Truk					
Number	33,040	13,130	1,706	1,344	3,050
Percent of Employment			55.9	44.1	100.0
Percent of Working Age Population			13.0	10.2	23.2

SOURCE: Population estimates taken from the Annual Report on the Administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, part XIII, 1975, p. 5. Employment taken from Wage and Employment Data for the T.T.P.I., prepared by the Social Security Administration, March 1976.

[1]Estimate for working age population, adjusted to exclude the estimated number of students. Working age includes estimate for ages 15-64, less estimated student population.

of the military civic action teams and the Coast Guard station, the United States Post Office and Weather Bureau, and employees of the Community Action Agencies, funded out of federal grants, are all included under "private employment." If such workers were transferred to the government employment category, the ratio of government employment to private would be better than 2:1 in Yap; possibly 3:2 in Truk; and close to that ratio in the Mariana Islands.

Because Yap is smaller than the Mariana Islands and only about one quarter the size of Truk, the impact of government employment is relatively greater in Yap. There is a certain minimum of government employment that goes with being a state, regardless of size. There is also a certain multiplier effect that government expenditures have on private employment; especially in such businesses as retail stores, bars, restaurants, and services that rely on government employees as consumers. In Yap, it apparently takes two government jobs to generate one in the private sector.

The Mariana Islands has made the greatest effort to develop a tourist industry. It has three large tourist hotels owned by outside investors and three fairly sizable locally owned hotels, also oriented towards tourists. The visitor traffic, in turn, generates a different kind of retail business, catering to tourists, such as the Duty-Free Shops on Saipan. Moen Island, the capital center in Truk, has one tourist grade hotel, as noted above, owned by Continental Airlines, as well as three locally owned hotels.

Yap, by contrast, has only the two small locally owned hotels, oriented to the casual, transient, or official visitor. The Yapese have opposed all proposals for development of a tourist industry. Other than copra and a modest export of betel nut, there is no export industry. In

summary, the Yapese economy represents the minimum development that normal government expenditure will support.

To some extent, this represents Yapese conservatism and resistance to change. No doubt, many Yapese would like to see the development of the economy to provide opportunities for much larger participation of the Yapese as wage earners and entrepreneurs. On the other hand, they are resistant to the outside entrepreneur who wishes to develop their resources for his own profit. They are resistant to tourist development that would bring large numbers of outsiders, with cameras, poking around their villages. They lack the capital and know-how and the tradition of risk taking that would enable them to engage in any new development of export industry. Finally, Yapese traditions concerning appropriate leadership behavior and consensus decision making are not conducive to the kind of forceful leadership required to organize resources and human efforts in new economic ventures.

It is easy to misread the significance of these comparisons. The figures on wage earners do not include all cash incomes, although few, if any, full-time wage earners are excluded. The figures reflect the average number of workers with sufficient earnings to be included in the quarterly reports, expressed in full-time equivalents. There is a lot of traffic in and out of the work force, so the actual number of people who received some wage income during a given year is somewhat higher than the numbers reported. The figures do not include cash income from copra sales, a significant cash supplement for many families, especially in the outer islands. They do not include income from small family stores or from sales of surplus by the subsistence farmers and fishermen. Above all, they do not include the commuted value of subsistence income.

The income reflected on these reports is more widely distributed among the population than one might expect. Households often consist of more than one nuclear family. Cash incomes are shared with adult members of the extended family, who may, in turn, share produce of their subsistence farming and fishing. Few Micronesians can correctly be thought of as strictly in the cash economy or the subsistence sector. The benefits of both are widely shared, in the Micronesian tradition of sharing.

The figures on population distributions could also create some misleading impressions. With all of the discussion of "meagre resources" and with populations as high as 1,000 and more per square mile, one might get the impression of large numbers living on the edge of starvation. This is far from the case. In addition to such staples as coconuts, taro, bananas, papaya, and breadfruit, there are the resources of the lagoons and open sea. In the tropics, many food plants bear repeatedly throughout the year. By all accounts, most of the islands supported many times their present population, at the time of the first western contacts. It is not inadequate food supply, but rising expectations, that accounts for the steady migrations of people from the outer islands.

If the population trend continues as reported in the foregoing pages, Micronesia will eventually have a very serious population problem, although that time is still two or three generations away, at least. While it would seem very spartan and unvaried by American standards, the food supply in the subsistence sector is more than adequate to support present populations.

CHAPTER VIII

TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY SYSTEMS COMPARED

Background

In chapter three, common elements of the traditional authority systems of Micronesian societies were examined, with some indication of the extent of variation which exists among the various culture areas. It was concluded that there is a certain pattern of characteristics which these authority systems share, which could properly be called the Micronesian pattern. However, this pattern cannot be said to apply to the special case of the Northern Mariana Islands. The rather complete demise of the aboriginal Chamorro culture of the Mariana Islands is a circumstance unique among the peoples of Micronesia.

This is not to say that there is no distinctive Chamorro culture. It is rather to say that what could be called "traditional" in the present culture of the Chamorro people is a blend of many influences on an hispanic base. The Spanish occupied the Mariana Islands for well over 200 years. The Germans administered the islands for only 16 years, the Japanese for 30 years.

By contrast, the other island groups of concern to this study were subjected to only intermittent contact with the western nations

by explorers, whaling parties and early missionary attempts until the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

The native people of the Mariana Islands were thoroughly acculturated during the Spanish era, while their islands were so depopulated that the people were brought to the brink of extinction. The pre-Spanish Chamorro population has been estimated to have been as high as 100,000 inhabitants. Only 3,500 Chamorros were reported in the first official census by the Spanish in 1710. By 1986, only 1,318 full blooded Chamorros were reported.[1]

The people's armed resistance to the Spanish and the introduction of new diseases both certainly contributed to this depopulation. The blood of the remaining Chamorro population has been thoroughly mixed with that of the Spanish, Filipino, Mexican, Japanese, Chinese, German, American, and other groups that have come to their shores for one reason or another.

It is safe to say that all that remains of the ancient Chamorro culture in the Mariana Islands today is the language. This language is thoroughly mixed with Spanish and other languages. The structure is Chamorro but most of the nouns are Spanish. Family names are either Chamorro or Spanish, but given names are almost invariably Spanish in origin. The numerals are Spanish.

As pointed out before, the native people of the Mariana Islands include a substantial minority of Carolinians, early nineteenth century migrants from the outer islands of Yap, and the western islands of Truk

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[1]Alexander Spoehr, Saipan, The Ethnology of a War Devastated Area, Fieldiana: Anthropology, vol. 41 (Chicago: Chicago Natural History Museum, Bebr. 11, 1954), pp. 55-56.

district. Their native culture is that which will be described for their islands of origin.

Most, if not all, of the islands of Micronesia experienced considerable decline in their populations following the first European contacts. In Yap, as in the Mariana Islands, the population was brought close to the point of extinction. The precontact population of Yap has been estimated as high as 50,000, but Labby feels that an estimate of 28,000 to 34,000 is more reasonable. These estimates are based on the large numbers of foundations of abandoned houses in the island complex.[2] By the first Spanish census in 1899, the population had declined to 7,808. By the time of the American occupation in 1946, it was only 2,582.[3]

The major part of Yap's depopulation occurred during a long period of only limited and intermittent contact with the European countries. During this period of decline, the people did not assimilate either the customs or the blood of outsiders to any extent. On the contrary, the Yapese have long displayed both an aloofness to foreigners and a resistance to cultural change. Schneider suggests that the experience of depopulation might actually have induced the Yapese to cling more tenaciously to their culture, since death and disease were interpreted as "supernatural punishment for breaches of custom and taboo."[4]

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[2]David Labby, The Demystification of Yap (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1976), p. 1.

[3]Sherwood G. Lingenfelter, Yap: Political Leadership and Cultural Change in the Island Society (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1975), pp. 15-17.

[4]David M. Schneider, "Abortion and Depopulation on a Pacific Island," in Peoples and Cultures of the Pacific, ed. Andrew P. Vayda (Garden City, N.J.: Natural History Press, 1968), p. 390.

It is also possible that the greater resistance to change of the Yapese is due to the character of the traditional culture of Yap. The highly stratified caste system of Yap may be inherently less adaptable to the forces of change than the less stratified systems of other islands which have been equally exposed to outside influences.

There is less mystery concerning the conservatism of the residents of the outer islands of Yap. It can readily be explained by their small size, isolation, and remoteness from the centers of foreign contact.

In describing and comparing the traditional authority systems of the subcultures of the Mariana Islands, Yap, the outer islands of Yap, and Truk, attention will first be focused on the family authority systems, which are the basic units of the traditional political-economic systems. Then the community authority systems will be treated, beginning with the village and district structures and proceeding to interdistrict or regional systems.

After the comparison of authority systems is completed, attention will be given to the process of socialization to authority, to see how the preferred values, attitudes, and behavior with respect to authority relationships are learned, internalized, and transmitted. The sources for this analysis and comparison are principally the personality and culture studies conducted in Micronesia during the late 1940s.

The Family Authority Structures

Truk and the Outer Islands of Yap

The authority structures and relationships in the family and kin group in Truk and in the outer islands of Yap are so similar it would

be superfluous to describe them separately. In fact, this family authority system might be considered the Micronesian prototype, since its basic features are found in almost every description of Micronesian traditional society.

The most important unit in this society is the lineage, a land owning kin group. It is often referred to as a matrilineage to emphasize that membership is traced through the female line. The lineage is an organized corporate group, with an official leader, a common hearth, an official shrine, and a pool of ancestral ghosts. Its members all trace their descent through their mothers' line, to a common ancestress.

A lineage begins with and, at a minimum, consists of a group of siblings. At any given time, it might consist of several generations of siblings. Its head is normally the senior male of the oldest generation. He has authority over all members of the lineage, directs all lineage work projects and activities, and is custodian of the shrine and all lineage property. The common ownership of lineage land is the principal basis of the lineage's unity.

The senior woman of the oldest generation is leader of the lineage women. The nature of work performed by men is distinct from that performed by women. Thus, the two sexes constitute separate and distinct work groups, headed by the lineage head and the senior woman. Where more than one generation is involved, the senior male and senior female in each generation exercise diffuse authority over their brothers and sisters, respectively.

Normally, all members of a lineage do not reside together. Generally, the women reside together, along with their husbands and

children. The Trukese traditionally follow the matrilocal pattern of residence, meaning that the husband resides on the land belonging to his wife's family.[5] He is under the authority of his brother-in-law and must work the land of his wife's lineage and contribute to it the products of his labor. However, he is not a member of that lineage and has no claim on its property.

This pattern of matrilocal residence seems to be the traditional pattern in the outer islands of Yap. It has been found to be the general rule, for example, on Ifaluk[6] and on Lamotrek.[7] On Ulithi, however, Lessa found the typical pattern to be one of patrilocal residence.[8] There, the husband and wife periodically visit the wife's lineage and help to work her lineage's land but live, for the most past, with or near the husband's lineage. This patrilocal residence does not alter the fact that the children belong to, and derive their inheritance from, their matrilineage.

A lineage, as a land owning corporation, may include one or more smaller corporations within its rank. These corporations come into being whenever a group of siblings acquire land in their own right.

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[5]Ward H. Goodenough, Property, Kin and Community on Truk, p. 67.

[6]Edwin G. Burrows and Melford E. Spiro, An Atoll Culture, Ethnography of Ifaluk in the Central Carolines, Behavior Science Monographs (New Haven, Conn.: Human Relations Area Files, 1953).

[7]William H. Alkire, Lamotrek Atoll and Inter-island Socio-economic Ties (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1965), pp. 48-49.

[8]William A. Lessa, Ulithi, A Micronesian Design for Living (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), pp. 23-26.

Goodenough refers to these smaller corporations within a lineage as "descent lines."[9] Since lineage land cannot be alienated without the unanimous consent of all of the adult members, how do these descent lines acquire property in their own right?

It can be done by gift or inheritance from a father. Most often this would happen when the father's lineage has no other surviving members. In some cases, a lineage may decide to sell some of its land to members of another lineage. This might happen when, through loss of membership, the lineage relinquishing the land is no longer able to cultivate all of its landholdings.[10]

A descent line which acquires land in its own right may separate and form a new lineage. This is surely a common practice, since most lineages are so closely related that a common ancestress of all members is either living or so recently deceased that she is remembered by all living descendents.[11]

The lineage, as described above, is the basic social and economic unit of society in Truk and the outer islands of Yap. It shares with the nuclear family many functions that in other societies are exclusive to the latter. These include the support of the members and the nurture, education, and discipline of the young. A lineage is a very cohesive social group.

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[9]Ward H. Goodenough, Property, Kin and Community on Truk, p. 33.

[10]William H. Alkire, Lamotrek Atoll. . ., p. 30, relates such an example.

[11]Burrows and Spiro, An Atoll Culture, p. 137. This is consistent with other accounts, a lineage rarely exceeds four or five generations.

The child growing up in these societies has to learn to behave in different prescribed ways towards large numbers of relatives, on both sides of his family. These different prescribed behaviors reflect a number of gradations in status. The terminology by which he learns to refer to different relatives is an important clue to the expected behavior. Other clues are differences in relative age, generation, sex, and the closeness and specific nature of each person's relationship to him.

In the individual's matrilineage, all persons of his parent's generation or older are referred to by the same term as his father or mother, depending on their sex. All males of his own generation are referred to by the term for brother and all females by the term for sister. All members of younger generations are referred to as children, regardless of age. Reciprocally, members of older generations refer to the individual as child, while those of younger generations refer to the individual as father or mother.

All male members of one's father's lineage are referred to by the term for father and all female members by the term for mother, regardless of age or generation. They in turn refer to one as child. A mature adult may, in this context, refer to an infant as father and mother.

The relationships signified by these terms and by considerations of age, generation, sex, and specific relationship express varying degrees of obligation, deference, obedience, and avoidance.

The Trukese and outer islanders of Yap district have a very strong sense of obligation to support and defend the interests of the family and the kin group. This sense of obligation is particularly strong between siblings and, especially, between siblings of the same sex. The

relationship between brothers and between sisters is the most important relationship to the members of these societies. In this respect, it should be remembered that the concept of brother or sister includes classificatory brothers and sisters (cousins) as well as actual siblings.

The term "respect," rather than deference, is used by most writers on Micronesia and by the people themselves to describe the behavior exhibited towards those of higher status. However, the word respect can be used to describe a relationship of equality, while deference necessarily implies the kind of behavior which betokens a relationship of an inferior to a superior. The latter is definitely the kind of behavior being described.

The meaning of obedience is clear enough. The kind of behavior to which the term "avoidance" applies, however, is of two distinct kinds. One kind of avoidance behavior is but another reflection of deference. According to this norm, it is not proper to initiate contact, to intrude on or remain in the presence of a higher status person, unnecessarily.

The other form of prescribed avoidance behavior is related to the incest taboo. It is taboo to engage in horseplay or joke with certain relatives of the opposite sex, particularly jokes with sexual connotations or references to body functions. After both have reached puberty, it is forbidden for one to be seen in the company of any member of the opposite sex whom one addresses as "sister" or "brother" or to sleep under the same roof.

Goodenough developed a status scale which expresses the range of status relationships that exist between any Trukese and others in his circle of kin. The scale is based on the number of the common forms of the prescribed or prohibited behaviors that apply to each relationship.

Table 9 divides relationships within the family into six status positions. To persons in status position one, none of the rules of behavior apply. In status position six, they all apply. Persons to whom one must exhibit deference is said to be "taboo from above" by the Trukese (i.e., it is taboo to set oneself above them).[12]

Persons in the first three status positions are not taboo from above. The prescribed prohibition on "fight talk" and on "speaking harshly" to certain younger siblings and to certain in-laws and their respective children and by women to their own sons are based on a recognition that it is particularly important to avoid conflicts in these relationships. Thus, while an older brother may not use "fight talk" or speak harshly to a younger brother, the latter must avoid the older brother and may not refuse his requests. Trukese have told of having to give up such valuables as a brand new watch, even a brand new modern house, to older siblings on request. An older sister can claim a younger sister's child for adoption. Such a request can be refused, but to do so is strongly disapproved, even today.

This pattern of status oriented behavior among kin, which Goodenough has described for Truk, is consistent with what has been observed in the outer islands of Yap, as far as available accounts go, but none has provided comparable detail.

The Yapese Family

Land ownership is an important element in all Micronesian social systems, but it has a special emphasis in Yapese society.

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[12]Ward H. Goodenough, Property, Kin and Community on Truk, p. 111-14.

Table 9

Trukese Status Scale, Based on the Extent to Which Certain Status Oriented Norms of Behavior Apply to Designated Relationships

Status Position	Direction of Relationship		Prohibited Behaviors: Fight Talk	Speaking Harshly	Refusing Request	Prescribed Behaviors: Avoidance	Crawling
1	Man to:	Woman to:					
	Father	Father	No	No	No	No	No
	Mother	Mother	No	No	No	No	No
	Sister	Daughter	No	No	No	No	No
	Sister's Husband	Sister's Daughter	No	No	No	No	No
	Wife	Husband	No	No	No	No	No
	Wife's Younger Sister	Younger Sister's Husband	No	No	No	No	No
		Husband's Sister	No	No	No	No	No
2	Man to:	Woman to:					
		Own Son	Yes	No	No	No	No
	Younger Brother's Wife	Husband's Younger Sister	Yes	No	No	No	No
3	Man to:	Woman to:					
	Younger Brother	Younger Sister	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
	Wife's Older Sister		Yes	Yes	No	No	No

Table 9, continued

Status Position	Direction of Relationship		Prohibited Behaviors: Fight Talk	Speaking Harshly	Refusing Request	Prescribed Behaviors: Avoidance	Crawling
4	Man to:	Woman to:					
	Male Child	Brother's Daughter	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
	Older Brother's Wife	Husband's Brother's Daughter	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
5	Man to:	Woman to:					
	Older Brother	Older Sister	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
6	Man to:	Woman to:					
	Daughter		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Wife's Brother	Brother's Son	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes*	Yes
		Brother	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
		Husband's Older Brother's Son	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
		Brother's Wife	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

NOTES:

Such terms as father, mother, brother, sister, child include the classificatory ones (i.e., the uncles, aunts, cousins, nephews, nieces) as well as the members of one's immediate family.

Table 9, continued

Status Position	Direction of Relationship	Prohibited Behaviors: Fight Talk	Speaking Harshly	Refusing Request	Prescribed Behaviors: Avoidance	Crawling

NOTES, cont.

Fight talk means speaking in a belligerent or threatening manner.

Speaking harshly means using an angry tone, scolding, taking to task.

The prohibition on refusing a request means literally that one cannot persistently refuse to perform a requested service or give up one's money or personal property to the other person, on request.

The term "crawling" traditionally meant either crawling or lowering one's head or crouching in passing; in effect, not having one's head above the other's.

*A question mark was in the original, pertaining to the application of the avoidance norm to the relationship of a woman to her brother's son.

SOURCE: Ward H. Goodenough, Property, Kin and Community on Truk, p. 113.

In Truk and in the outer islands of Yap, it can be said that, in a sense, status derives from land. According to legend, the rankings of clans and lineages is based on the order in which they settled an island or district. It is the common ownership of land that keeps a lineage together as a corporate entity. In Yap, however, status is more directly and positively associated with land.

Yapese belong to lineages and clans, but their primary identification is with their place of residence. In Yapese, the term is tabinaw, which is often translated as estate. All of the estates in Yap are ranked, not the lineages who occupy them. The head of a lineage or an estate is one who "speaks for the land." It does not matter who the person is or how he acquired the position, his status derives from the land, whose voice he is, his estate.

Close association with lower caste people is considered contaminating in Yap. This is because their land is considered contaminated and it contaminates them. A chief is a chief because he occupies a chief's land, a magician occupies a magician's land. The people say that "the land is chief."[13]

On Yap, descent is matrilineal, but inheritance is patrilineal. In fact, inheritance is perceived as an exchange, in which the mother and her children earn the right for the children to inherit the land through years of service to the estate, in its maintenance and improvement, and to the father as landowner. The relationship of the mother and children, being of the same clan, is one of mutuality and sharing. The relationship of husband and wife, or father and child, is one of reciprocity and exchange.[14]

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[13]David Labby, The Demystification of Yap, p. 16.

[14]Ibid., p. 19.

Because of their contribution to the estate and their faithful obedience and service to the father, the children earn the right to inherit the land. Since clans are exogamous, each such exchange involves a transfer of an estate between clans. Since the status of the group derives from the land, the status of the clan will rise or fall depending on the rank of the estates acquired through marriage. The object of the wife is to enhance her social position and that of her children, if possible, by marrying into a higher estate. An estate that is at least equal to her estate of birth is acceptable. It is not considered good to marry a man of a lower ranking estate.

The Yapese household characteristically consists of a single nuclear family. This is the Yapese ideal. An estate may consist of a single household, or it may be subdivided to provide house sites for each adult son. The original house, on its stone foundation, is called the "central foundation" of the estate. The head of the household on this central foundation is the leader of all of the households comprising the estate.

> It is extremely important because within it reside the ancestral spirits who have lived on the land, to whom the members of the group pray, from whom children come and after whom parents name children. The central foundation is also the seat of all authority and political rights that by definition belong to the estate.[15]

Although the Yapese estate is considered a territorial unit, rather than a kinship unit, the structure of authority is analogous to the lineage in the outer islands and Truk. The head of the estate is normally the senior male of the oldest generation, the father of a sibling

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[15] Sherwood G. Lingenfelter, Yap: Political Leadership and Culture Change, pp. 24-25.

group, or the oldest male sibling. The pattern of leadership follows the father to son, older brother to younger brother hierarchy.

This is not an immutable rule. Land is given by the father to his sons for faithful and obedient service. The father may give his land to anyone who cares for him and looks out for his welfare. The person need not even be a relative.[16] This is a contrast with the position of lineage head in Truk or the outer islands, who can veto any proposal to dispose of land but cannot alienate land on his own without unanimous consent of his adult lineage mates.

Since nuclear family households are the rule, each member family of an estate cultivates and harvests the products of its own land. The provision of fish and meat is the responsibility of the husband, the provision of vegetables is the responsibility of the wife, aided by the sons and daughters. The land of an estate includes sections of lagoon. These are fished cooperatively by the men. Otherwise, the people of an estate are mobilized as a unit only when demands are made on it by the larger community or when an individual household requires assistance in completing a task or in a family crisis. Such larger jobs as housebuilding are organized by the senior male, who coordinates the contributions of each household.[17]

Within the nuclear family, the father commands considerable deference. A long log divides a house into two sections. One side is reserved to the father, or head of household. Women and children stay out of it unless sent for some purpose. At each end of the main house is a

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[16] Ibid., p. 27.

[17] Ibid., pp. 26 and 35.

small veranda. The one at the rear of the house is taboo for women and children. The front veranda is the family sitting area. One side of it is reserved for the man of the house and older male visitors. It is especially taboo to women of menstruating age.

Yapese custom also prescribes that the head of the household has his own cook house and cooking utensils, that his food be separately prepared, and that he eat alone or with other males close to his own age. Certain gardens, taro patches, and betel nut and fruit trees are set aside for his exclusive use. He gets first choice of fish and meat provided for the family.

The mother and children, except for a menstruating teenager, obtain their food resources from the same areas. Certain gardens and trees are set aside for the menstruating daughter, who may not eat food from her mother's garden.

> Thus, individuals are distinguished according to age, sex and kinship status in the family and are accordingly given access to food resources and space in the household. Primary food and space resources go first to the males, then to the oldest females and down through the hierarchy of the family.[18]

The father is the head of the household; provider of its land and other resources; its spiritual leader; spokesman for the estate; disciplinarian of the children; director of household affairs; and teacher of family knowledge, rights and responsibilities, magic, and medicine. The father role may be filled by the oldest son or a male relative, it need not be the biological father.[19]

As with the Trukese and the outer island people, the relationship between siblings is very strong and supportive. Older siblings are

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[18] Ibid., p. 24.

[19] Ibid., p. 42.

expected to care for the younger ones. Younger ones are expected to respect and obey their older brothers and sisters. This is especially true of the oldest sibling, who may be called on to assume the role of father or mother in the event of a parent's death.

If it happens that grandparents share the same house, the grandfather is the head of the house. In his presence, the father is a child and must be silent unless questioned. If the grandmother is living, but not the grandfather, the father is the head of the household, although he is expected to show respect to his mother and to consult her on family affairs.[20]

In general, it can be said that the family authority structure in Yap is similar in kind to those of Truk and the outer islands of Yap but it is more unambiguously patriarchal and gerontocratic. Residence is patrilocal and the male head of household and the estate has control over the inheritance of the land. This frees him from the fear of declining influence in advanced old age. He is free of the strong obligation to his brothers-in-law and the heads of the wife's lineage that is so characteristic of the Trukese.

With their exclusive areas of the house, separate eating utensils, garden plots, and exclusive eating company, the heads of households are more sharply differentiated in status from other family members than are their counterparts in the outer islands and in Truk.

Because of the Yapese preference for nuclear family households, extended family relationships are, of necessity, less cohesive than these relationships are in Truk and the outer islands. In the latter,

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[20] Ibid., pp. 45-46.

the parent role is shared by a number of adults and terminological siblings are treated as siblings in practice. This difference should not be overemphasized. In Yap, as elsewhere in Micronesia, there is a strong sense of obligation and loyalty to the kin group on both sides of the family.

In spite of differences, the Yapese traditional family authority system shares important broad characteristics with those of the outer islands and Truk. The nuclear family is integrated into a larger kinship group by the traditions of common land ownership, cooperation, and sharing among kin. Within the family, authority and status among the members are sharply differentiated by considerations of age, sex, and generation and reinforced by norms of behavior which emphasize obedience, deference, and avoidance.

The Chamorro Family

Two features of the Chamorro family structure highlight the fact that it is not a Micronesian family type.

One of these features is that the family authority structure is not integrated into the community authority structure. This is not to say that the family is not important in the politics of the Mariana Islands. On the contrary, it is most important. What is meant is that families are not institutionally linked to the community structure so that one's family role establishes and defines his role in the community structure. Furthermore, among the Chamorros, the family and the community authority structures are recognized as distinct in a way that is impossible in a society in which community affairs are essentially interlineage affairs.

A second feature that distinguishes Chamorro society from the Micronesian pattern is that the Chamorro household is characteristically

a nuclear family household. In a sample of 100 households in 1950, Spoehr found only eleven households containing more than a single nuclear family. In all of these eleven cases, the household consisted of a nuclear family and one or more grandparents.[21]

Both of these features are reinforced by the institution of individual ownership of land. The Chamorro custom is for land to be equally divided among the children of the landowner before his death.

As it developed under Spanish rule, the society of the Mariana Islands was an agricultural society. The people lived in villages, often some distance from the land they farmed. This pattern is still followed on Rota and Tinian and, to a lesser extent, on Saipan.

Unlike typical Micronesian cultures, in the Chamorro culture the nuclear family is the medium through which the needs of shelter, food, and clothing are satisfied. The father and mother roles are similar to those that are traditional in American society.

> It is the father's responsibility to provide the economic support of the family, through procuring a money income from wage-work or as a small entrepreneur, or through the sale of farm produce. . . . He is responsible for obtaining a house for the family[and] for . . . its maintenance . . . [and] repair.
>
> Contrariwise, everything inside the house . . . is the mother's responsibility. She must keep the house clean and in order . . .[care] for small children, [do] washing, ironing and mending clothes; dressmaking and preparing food.[22]

Chamorro boys are expected to help the father and girls the mother. Teenage boys may either work for wages or on the farm. Girls may also work for wages, but traditionally they remained at home, carefully chaperoned and helping their mothers until marriage.

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[21]Alexander Spoehr, Saipan, The Ethnology of a War-Devastated Island, p. 218.

[22]Ibid., p. 218-19.

The greater importance of the nuclear family among the Chamorros is reflected in kinship terminology. Distinct terms distinguish parents from aunts and uncles, brothers and sisters from cousins and children from nieces and nephews. In fact, there is a precise equivalent for every kinship term in English, including stepparents and in-law relationships. There are no terminological distinctions between relatives on the paternal and maternal sides of the family.[23]

The Chamorros put a very strong emphasis on respect and obedience to parents and relatives in ascending generations (aunts, uncles, and grandparents). Both parents share in the discipline of children, but more serious punishment is generally administered by the father. Until they are married, even adult sons and daughters are under the authority of their parents.

Although the extended family in the Northern Mariana Islands is much less important than in other Micronesian societies, there is a sense of identification and loyalty to the larger family. There are certain obligations which unite members of the extended family; particularly the obligation to participate in and to contribute material and labor to observances of weddings, christenings, funerals, and other family and ceremonial occasions.

The traditional family structure of the Carolinians of Saipan is that of the islands of their origin, previously described. As late as 1940, Carolinian families were found to be living in extended family households, based on matrilocal residence. The resettlement of Carolinians which followed the war time destruction of the town of

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[23]Ibid., p. 241-48.

Garapan brought about a nearly complete transition from extended family to nuclear family residence.[24]

In terms of land ownership and household composition, the Carolinians, today, are much like the Chamorros. Intrafamily relationships, however, still reflect much of the spirit of the traditional society. Carolinians are more deferential towards authority than are Chamorros. In Carolinian households, women still defer to men and the young to the old. Such outward signs of deference as the lowering of heads in passing is still practiced in some families.

Community Authority Structures

Truk

Goodenough has clearly demonstrated that traditional political units in Truk have their origin in the system of property rights in land.[25]

The original political communities were formed as the result of the settlement of virgin land. A claim to land is established by setting up piles of stones to mark the boundaries. A man and wife, with their children, by occupying unclaimed land acquire full title to it. The senior male, as head of the newly founded matrilineage, becomes the district chief.

With new land to cultivate, the men of the lineage bring their wives to reside with them in the new district. By taking up residence with their husbands, under the system of matrilineal descent, the wives

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[24] Ibid., pp. 336-37.

[25] Ward H. Goodenough, Property, Kin and Community on Truk, pp. 135-37.

become founders of new lineages. Since the founding lineage has full title, a grant of land from that lineage to each of the new lineages is necessary. Such grants customarily confer provisional title to the land, with the founding lineage retaining a residual title.

Thus the members of a district are subdivided into ranked matrilineages. The district is a consanguinal community, since all of its member lineages are related patrilineally. However, these member lineages receive infusions of new blood with each generation, since both the matrilineages and patrilineages are exogamous.

The ranking of the lineages is based on seniority, determined by the order of their establishment in the district, with the first lineage to arrive being that of the district chief. In summary:

> A district consists of a piece of real property, a territory, in whose confines there are several lineages. The oldest lineage holds residual title to the entire territory, while the newer lineages hold various portions of it under provisional title and consider themselves to have been sired directly by the oldest lineage or by one of the other lineages, which was in turn sired by the oldest.[26]

Membership in a district is based on lineage membership. Unless one's lineage is part of a given district, he is not considered a member.

In view of the importance of the lineage, it may seem surprising that there is not word for lineage in Trukese. Lineage members are identified by their clan names. The clan, like the lineage, is a matrilineal descent group. It is not a corporate, land owning group, though its members will include many such groups. Clans are widely disbursed among the islands of Truk. When clan membership on a given island is large, it is not possible for all members to trace their membership to a common ancestress.

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[26]Ibid., p. 137.

On Truk, districts, in the traditional sense, were extremely small autonomous political territories. Size was limited by the capacity of the founding lineages to cultivate and harvest the land. Goodenough identified 98 districts in the Truk Lagoon. Only four islands consisted of a single district and these averaged about one-fifth of a square mile in area. Among the larger islands, Dublon and Tol contained 18 districts, Moen had 14, Fefan had 11, and Uman 10. Average sizes for these multi-district islands ranged from .144 square miles per district on Romunum to .700 square miles on Polle. Their populations ranged from 64 to 127 persons.[27]

Until 1900, these districts were politically independent. The position of district chief was the highest position in Trukese society. The fact that the inhabitants of two districts often occupied contiguous territory comprising one continuous village did not seem to offer a compelling reason for a superordinate authority structure. Community problems were handled through consultation.

The Role of the Chief

The prestige and authority of a chief is based on two concepts. One concept is that of head of the lineage with residual title to all of the district land. The other lineages, as provisional title holders, owe periodic gifts of produce to the chief. These presentations are occasions for feasts in the chief's honor, at times he designates, but following the seasonal calendar. The chief selects his own food and distributes the rest to the lineages in proportion to the size of their membership. It is the chief who calls out the district for fish drives, and he is entitled to the first fish in the catch.

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[27] Ibid., p. 130.

The second concept supporting the chiefly role is that of the titular father of his people. It is the chief's role to keep the peace and see that no injustice is done. He has little real power in this respect. He acts as a mediator and attempts to bring quarreling lineages together.

The chief was aided in this respect by the fact that the lineage heads of the parties in dispute would seek his mediation. After hearing the dispute, he would consider the merits and announce, or make known, his decision. Public knowledge of his opinion was usually enough to cause the losing party to comply "rather than suffer the shame of disapprobation." Another compulsion to comply was the recognition that the chief would probably ally his lineage with those with whom he agreed, should war come.[28]

It was generally expected of a chief that he would be a person of humility and not display arrogant behavior. It is considered improper for him to publicly express displeasure with individuals, scold them, or give a direct order. Instead, intermediaries approach someone and tell him that his conduct is displeasing the chief. When individual misconduct is observed, the chief will lecture the people in public meetings about the evils of the disapproved behavior, without mentioning anyone by name.

In theory, the chief could expropriate the property of any offender or any lineage. He would never attempt to do this unless there was a gross violation of community norms and he was certain that he had a strong consensus of the community behind him. In the absence of these

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[28]Marc J. Swartz, "Political Acquiescence in Truk," in Induced Political Change in the Pacific, A Symposium, ed. Roland W. Force (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1965), p. 24.

circumstances, the chief could be killed and his lineage driven from the land.

Only the chief could speak for the district in interdistrict affairs. Visitors to a district must look to the chief for assurances of welcome. Before warfare was ended, the chief was war leader. He could not lead the lineages of his district into war without their concurrence but he could veto a war proposal.

In Truk, the word jitag refers both to a specialist and to the lore which this specialist has mastered. It is highly desirable for a chief to be trained in the lore of jitag. This body of knowledge covered

> . . . the history of the district and its land tenure, the special language and magic of diplomacy, strategy and tactics in war with its related magic and rhetoric.[29]

If the chief lacked a knowledge of jitag, he could call on the services of a specialist. Such a person received the same deference as a chief. All of the behavioral prescriptions and prohibitions indicative of deference, in table 9, apply to the relations of others to the chief and to the jitag. In addition, they are greeted with a special honorific greeting.

In general, a chief is marked more by the deference he receives than by his authority. Lineage heads carry more authority over their followers than does their chief. An influential chief is one who has the support of other lineage heads.

Deference to the chief was shown in many ways. His followers would lower their heads in passing before him. He was entitled to the

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[29]Ward H. Goodenough, Property, Kin and Community, p. 144.

first fruits of every harvest. His food had to be especially prepared by a woman who was past menopause. He was permitted to eat only with certain ranking individuals, such as shamans or navigators.

To some extent, specialized skill and knowledge was a source of status and authority. Canoe makers, navigators, diviners, and magicians were all respected for their skills. Even such skills as navigation, canoe making, and planting of crops included specialized magic, as well as technical knowledge. The appropriate magic was considered essential to success. In the case of the more uncertain or hazardous ventures, such as the planning of a long sea voyage, the importance of magic and divination was particularly great. Such ventures would not be undertaken without the advice of diviners.

Knowledge and specialized skills were considered a form of property. They were not shared, except with selected successors. These successors did not normally enter their apprenticeship until they reached advanced middle age.

Young adults were excluded from participation in community decision making. A person was not considered sufficiently mature to participate until middle age. Perhaps as a compensation, young adults were allowed more freedom from work and family responsibility than is characteristic of other cultures.

Although lineage heads and chiefs were treated with great deference, they were not distinguished from their followers in terms of material wealth. Though many gifts of food and other valuables were presented to the chiefs on ceremonial occasions, these were immediately redistributed by the chiefs among the people. If a chief derived any status out of material goods, it was largely in presiding over their distribution, not in accumulating them for personal use.

In order to administer their territory more effectively, the Germans created "flag chiefs" over each of the islands by elevating one district chief on each island to this post. Thus, there was superimposed a new native authority over the district. This conferred greater authority on these chiefs than it was customary for a local chief to exercise, for it placed the power of the German administration behind his decisions. It also added the sanction of internment in the "calaboose" to back up his authority.[30]

The recognition of these island chiefs extended into the Japanese and American administrations. The Americans tended to regard such existing arrangements as "traditional." The Americans went one step farther and created a "paramount chief" for the entire Truk atoll. The people have generally accepted the authority of the island chiefs, so that they have taken on the aura of tradition. Their governmental functions have been absorbed into the new role of magistrate.

The Outer Islands of Yap

The above description of the Trukese traditional authority structure is quite generally applicable to the kind of authority structure found in the outer islands of Yap. These outer island communities exhibit the same kind of political fragmentation into small political districts as found in Truk. Ulithi atoll, for example, with only 1.8 square miles of territory, is subdivided into eight political districts.

The districts in the outer islands, however, are loosely integrated into larger political communities at the atoll level and even for the entire outer island chain. Beyond the atoll level, this all embracing

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[30]Marc J. Swartz, "Political Acquiescence in Truk," p. 21.

association is largely the result of the common tributary relationship which binds all of these islands to Gagil district in Yap. The relative rank of the outer island atolls can be attributed to their place in the "chain of command" with Gagil. However, it is also possible that this relative rank had its origin in wars of conquest. Burrows and Spiro were told legends of the previous conquest, extermination of the population, and repopulation of Lamotrek by the people of Ifaluk.[31]

The relationship between Yap and the outer islands will be discussed in connection with the political authority system of Yap. However, some observations on the authority structure within each atoll are in order.

In each atoll, there is a council of chiefs. The chief who is the head of the highest ranking lineage in the highest clan is the paramount chief. There is a rank order for each district. Relationships are highly structured. The call for a council must come from the paramount chief.

In Ulithi atoll, the message of the call for a council must be carried by ranking members of certain clans who, by tradition, have that function. The districts must be notified in order of their rank. If the call does not come through the prescribed channels, it will not be heeded. The meeting place is a council house on Mogmog, the district of the paramount chief. Council meetings are infrequent. The paramount chief does not concern himself with internal affairs of any district, only with matters concerning the entire atoll or involving relationships with Yap and the other atolls. All messages between Yap and the outer island are transmitted through him.

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[31] Burrows and Spiro, An Atoll Culture . . ., pp. 13-16.

Installation of a new paramount chief involves an elaborate coronation service. Upon assuming the status, the new chief is enjoined from sexual relations for five years, during which time he may not share his food with anyone else. Afterwards, he may share it only with diviners, magicians, and navigators. During the five year period of taboo, no one may touch his person. Afterwards, he may never be touched by children, young men, or women who have not reached the menopause.

Traditional Authority in Yap

Micronesian traditional authority systems were all hierarchical systems, with authority allocated according to ascriptive criteria. In Yapese society, statuses were more sharply differentiated and contained more gradations than in any other Micronesian society.

Yap is the only society for which the term "caste" is commonly used in describing the social stratification that exists. There are said to be nine distinct castes among the Yapese. There are actually three broad strata, with gradations within each. The lowest caste are sometimes referred to as "serfs." There is something of the concept of untouchability associated with this caste. Higher caste people will not eat food prepared by them; it is considered contaminated.

All of the estates in Yap are graded. A village society consists of graded estates grouped into sections and sections grouped into a village. The leader of the ranking estate in the section is the section chief. The leader of the ranking estate in the village is the village chief. Villages throughout Yap derive their ranking from the ranking of their highest ranked estate. The three highest ranking villages in Yap are Ngolog in Rull municipality, Teb in Tamil municipality, and

Tholang section of Gacpar village in Gagil municipality. All three villages make claim to highest ranking. Some informants say that the claim of the Arib estate in Teb village of Tamil has the best basis in tradition for that claim. Their claim is based on being the oldest continually occupied estate in Yap and the keepers of the most sacred shrines.

The political importance of Gacpar and Wonyan villages in Gagil extends farther than any other villages, because of the tributary relationship that exists between the outer islands and the Ethow estate in Gacpar and the Riyeleb estate in Wonyan village. Ironically, neither of these estates, which control the flow of tribute and trading relationships in their villages, is the ranking estate in its respective village.

Authority is finely structured in Yapese society. Within a village are three kinds of leaders. There is the village chief, who is the executive and political leader. There is the sitting chief, who is supposed to be particularly wise, and who functions as a critic, counselor, and authority on tradition. There is also a chief of young men, who is the voice of the young men in council and leads them in work, war, police action, or in ceremony. For each kind of specialized activity in the village, there is both a leader and a magician. There is a leader of gardening and a magician for gardening. There is a leader for net fishing and a magician for net fishing. The same is true for torch fishing, for war, and for other activities.

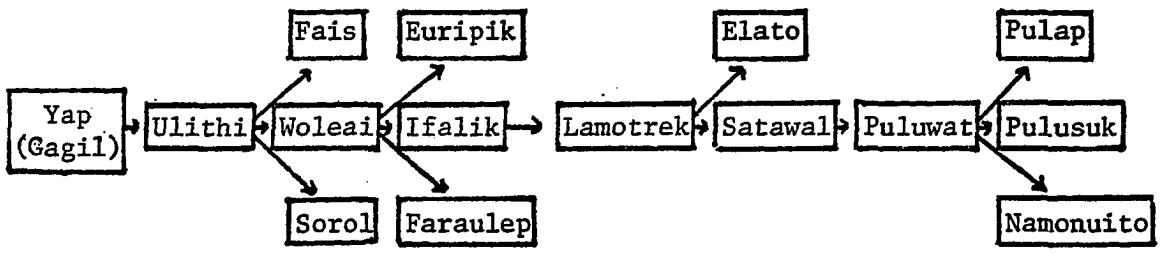
Relationships between villages were structured in a number of ways. Villages were high caste, commoner, chiefs servants, or serf villages. Only the latter are considered low caste. The people of the

higher caste villages can command the services of those of servant or serf villages. Today, these are said to be limited to the ritual performance of certain services on specified occasions. They could involve such services as the building or repair of the men's house.

Traditionally, all of the villages of Yap were joined into one of two federations. Communications between villages within these federations had to follow very specific channels and chains of command. Communications that did not follow prescribed channels would not be recognized. Specific villages were linked into exchange relationships. In ceremonial gatherings, one village would always provide fish, another would always provide vegetables and starch.

Relations with the Outer Islands

The relationships between Gagil and the tributary outer islands followed a network of formal channels. The demand for tribute or any other communication went to the paramount chief of Ulithi atoll. He, in turn, followed a prescribed communications network in forwarding the communications to the islands to the east. This chain of authority linking the outer islands to Gagil can be pictures as follows:[32]



Within each of the atolls, messages were relayed only by designated envoys to designated recipients on each island. The message

[32]William A. Lessa, Ulithi, A Micronesian Design for Living, p. 39.

would not be accepted unless it came through the prescribed channels. In general, this message flow follows geography in a west to east direction. The tribute originated in individual islands and followed a specific path from islands of low status, through those of equal or higher status, until it reached Gacpar village in the Gagil district of Yap. At each intermediate stop, the chief of highest rank assumed charge of the entire expedition.

Although, theoretically, the goods sent to Yap were payments of rent and tribute, the outer island people received "gifts" in return that often exceeded the value of the payments. This relationship of the outer island people to the people of Yap was a fictive "parent-child" relationship. As children of the people of Gagil, the outer island people were given food and shelter in Gagil whenever they visited Yap for any reason. In return for this hospitality, they were expected to show deference, refrain from making advances to Yapese women, observe certain food taboos, and perform a certain amount of work. The outer island people were considered low caste. Marriage between outer island people and Yapese was prohibited.

It has been said of Yap that status is the dominant value. The status system is much more intricate than is generally true of Micronesia. Interpersonal and intercommunity relations are conducted by a code of traditional prescription. An anthropologist working in Yap recently commented that nothing is ever done spontaneously. Every social exchange is covered by some prescription. The system of ascribed statuses and the emphasis on the authority of tradition are common themes in Micronesian society. They seem to have a special dimension in Yap. This may account, in large measure, for the exceptional resistence to change that the Yapese culture has exhibited.

The Mariana Islands

During the 1690s, the Spanish completed their conquest of the Mariana Islands. All surviving Chamorros from the northern Mariana Islands, except for a few who hid in the interior of Rota, were concentrated on Guam where they could more readily be controlled by the Spanish.

The Spanish governors subdivided the Mariana Islands (including Guam) into convenient regions for purposes of administration. The principal island of Guam included several of these regions or municipios, to use the Spanish term. This term is apparently the origin of the similar English term, municipality, which has been used to designate the local units of government in Micronesia.

When the Spanish permitted the Chamorros to resettle Saipan and the other islands, they designated each island as a single municipio. The Spanish governor appointed an aboriginal Chamorro chief, who had taken the oath of loyalty to Spain, as the Alcalde, the administrative head of each municipio.[33]

By the time of the Chamorro resettlement of Saipan, there were already established settlements of Carolinian migrants there. Although they came under the Alcalde's authority, the Carolinians lived in a separate community, where they accepted the leadership of their own traditional chiefs and lineage heads. In this way, the Chamorros served as a kind of buffer between the Carolinians and the Spanish authorities. This enabled the Carolinians to preserve much of their traditional social structure well into this century.

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[33]Robert B. Solenberger, "Continuity of Local Political Institutions in the Marianas," Human Organization 23, no. 1 (Spring 1964): 54.

By 1875, the municipio of Saipan took on a somewhat more complex structure. A council of five men (Akonseheros) was appointed, representing the four precincts of the principal village of Garapan and one for Tanapag village. The position of the head man was renamed Gobernadorcillo. He presided over the council. These local officials had only executive and liaison functions. They enforced legislation enacted by the government on Guam and held discussion meetings with the people. The Spanish officials visited the islands only occasionally to collect taxes.[34]

This basic form of government continued during the German and Japanese eras. When the residents of Saipan were resettled in Chalan Kanoa village, following the wartime destruction of Garapan, care was taken to preserve the same groupings of residents by village section as had prevailed in their former village. The positions of Commissioner and Chief Commissioner corresponded to the former Gobernadorcillo and Akonsehero. Later the title of chief commissioner was changed to Mayor. An elected council was later added and the district commissioner became strictly a spokesman for the district in which he resided and a liaison between the people and the municipal government. Except that the positions all became elective, they represented considerable continuity with the traditional government.

Socialization to Authority: The Micronesian Life Cycle

As previously stated, in Micronesian society there is no differentiation between spheres of authority, such as the family, the

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[34]Ibid., p. 55.

economic, and the political spheres. A family is an integral part of a larger kin group, which is an economic unit. The political or community authority structure is an upward extension of family-kin group authority system. For this reason, the term socialization to authority is used in preference to political socialization to describe the process by which Micronesians are inducted into the authority system. That area of authority which is distinctively political is not clearly delineated from other areas.

During the Coordinated Investigations of Micronesian Anthropology, a series of studies undertaken in the late 1940s, a great deal of information was developed on the socialization process in various Micronesian societies. Several Micronesian communities were the subjects of culture and personality studies, using the projective techniques of psychoanalytic theory.

One of these was conducted by Thomas Gladwin and Seymour Sarason, with a sample of twelve men and eleven women on Romunum Island in the Truk Lagoon. A second was conducted by William A. Lessa and Marvin Spiegelman, which included 53 male and 46 female subjects on Ulithi atoll in the central Caroline Islands. Another was a study of 156 subjects on Ifaluk atoll in the Woleai group of the central Carolines, by Edwin G. Burrows and Melford E. Spiro. Still another was a study of 120 Palauan men and women by Francis B. Mahoney. All of these employed both the Rorschach and Thematic Apperception Tests (T.A.T.).

During this same period, a series of studies of 100 Chamorro and 100 Carolinian children and 30 Chamorro adults was conducted by Alice Joseph and Veronica Murray on Saipan. However, the Joseph and

Murray study was not a culture and personality study in the same sense as the others. Joseph and Murray employed a range of tests, some of which were intelligence tests, as well as the Rorschach, and examined the physical health of their subjects. Although they drew certain conclusions concerning the prominent personality traits of their subjects, they did not specifically relate these to culture.

Unfortunately, most of these investigators gave inadequate attention to the extent to which the test situation may have influenced the responses. In the Joseph and Murray study, the names of the children were announced over a public address system and they were instructed to report at the specified time and place for testing. These children, ages five to seventeen, had all lived through the invasion of Saipan just three years before. They had seen death and destruction in their recent past. From November 1944 until July 1946, they had been interned, behind barbed wire, pending the repatriation of the Japanese population. Under these circumstances, it would be surprising if they did not approach the experience of testing with considerable anxiety.

In Spiro's use of personality tests on Ifaluk, he used an interpreter who actually gave the instructions, took down the responses, and translated them into English. His command of English was described as poor by the ethnographer. He reacted with disgust to Rorschach responses he considered "stupid." It was acknowledged that this may have had an inhibiting effect on some respondents.

Both Lessa on Ulithi and Mahoney on Palau made similar use of interpreters. Even if they were effective in establishing rapport, their position as members of the community could inhibit the freedom with which the subjects would respond to the tests.

The study by Gladwin on Truk was, by far, the best in terms of care in administration and methodological rigor. He spent the time with the psychologist, Sarason, before leaving for Truk to learn how to administer the tests. He performed all of the testing, himself, in Trukese. He developed a good rapport with all members of the community before commencing his testing. He made his own analysis of the personalities of the subjects through interviews which drew out information on their life histories. The T.A.T. and Rorschach responses were evaluated blindly by the psychologist, without knowledge of either the subjects or the culture. Care was taken to protect the independence of the biographical data and the projective tests, as separate sources of data.

The Gladwin and Sarason approach yielded composite profiles of the personalities of each participant, based on both the life histories and the fantasy productions elicited by the projective techniques. These were separately analyzed by the anthropologist (Gladwin) and the psychologist (Sarason), respectively, before they were used for mutual collaboration and correction. This method is similar to the psychoanalytic use of the projective techniques in the clinical setting from which they were borrowed.

By contrast, the other studies dealt with the data from the projective tests only in a statistical way, by tabulating the frequencies with which certain needs (affiliation, achievement, aggression, etc.) were expressed in the fantasies elicited. That method yields a statistical composite profile for the group but no personality profile for any individual. Thus, all individual expressions of a need are abstracted from the contexts in which they appear. Clues to their subjective meanings are derived from the anthropologist's knowledge of the culture, but

the meaning of a given response in a given culture is a matter of speculation. This is particularly true when an item in a response is considered without the benefit of any information about the individual respondent and his background.

The findings in the Gladwin and Sarason study are more credible. They are well supported by information contained in the life histories of those who were the subjects of the study. They yield a composite picture of a typical life cycle that is truly representative of the group as a whole.

The big weakness of the Gladwin and Sarason study, as a source of information on "Trukese" personality and culture, is the small size of the sample. It is impossible to safely generalize findings for an entire population from a sample of only twenty-three individuals. One cannot confidently say that they are representative of Romunum Island (population 240). Even less can they be said to be representative of the Trukese population or that of Micronesia as a whole.

One can give some justification for the very limited size of Gladwin's sample, if his study is viewed as twenty-three case studies, rather than a statistical survey. As case studies, they are very revealing of the lives, the feelings, and the personalities of these subjects.

In spite of the differences in the methods employed by these researchers, the modal personality type which emerges is very similar in all of these studies. The principal difference between Gladwin's study and those of the others is that he found significant variations in individual cases from the modal characteristics. He got much more lengthy and imaginative responses to the T.A.T. pictures.

On the other hand, whatever the weaknesses in their methods, the other culture and personality studies tend to corroborate the findings of Gladwin and Sarason. Furthermore, these and other, purely ethnographic, studies of Micronesian cultures largely agree with Gladwin's account of the Micronesian life cycle--the changes in status, activities and responsibilities that occur in the various stages of life, from infancy through old age. This life cycle is quite similar, in many respects, throughout Micronesia.

The Life Cycle

In early infancy, the child is fondled, caressed, cared for, and indulged. No attempt is made to discipline the child. Until he has learned to talk, he is presumed not to understand and is not accountable. Toilet training comes relatively late and is done in a rather casual manner.

Gladwin states that, in Truk, babies meet with considerable frustration in trying to satisfy their oral needs.

> These frustrations are caused by feeding periods of extremely short duration, wich come only when the child is protesting noisily and are broken off when the child is somewhat pacified, leaving him with an unsatisfied hunger.[35]

In fact, Gladwin makes quite a point of showing that, even in the period of indulgence that characterizes infancy, the primary emphasis in child rearing is the convenience of adults, not the comfort of the child. The child is fondled, caressed, and played with, because it amuses the adults. If steps are taken to pacify the child, it is to stop

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[35]Thomas Gladwin and Seymour B. Sarason, Truk: Man in Paradise (New York: Viking Fund Publication in Anthropology, no. 20, 1953), p. 74.

him from crying. Often he is left to cry for a while, with no one available to pacify him. Whether this attitude is a peculiar characteristic of the Trukese, whom Gladwin studied, or simply represents a difference in emphasis and interpretation by one observer, is not clear.

In any case, when the child reaches a certain age, an abrupt change takes place. His cries are ignored and conduct previously indulged is suddenly punished. His mother is generally too busy to give him attention, as before, and he is given over to the care of an older sibling. This older sibling may be resentful of the child because of the manner in which he was previously indulged and because of the burden of his care. The primary responsibility of the older sibling is to insure that the child does not inconvenience or intrude on the adults in the household.[36]

With the understanding that comes with speech, the child is exposed to a number of practices which would be roundly condemned by a child psychologist. Shame, ridicule, deceit, and fright are all employed as convenient ways to discourage the child from crying or to get him to cease an activity which is annoying to older people. He will be laughed at when he resorts to tantrums. He will be threatened with ghosts, strangers, and other assorted bogey men. He will be told any story to justify a parental decision. He will be beaten on one occasion for an offense that will be indulged on another.

In Truk, it was common to deny a child food as punishment. It was much more common to threaten the denial of food, later relenting

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[36]H. G. Barnett, Being a Palauan (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1961), pp. 4-6. Barnett's interpretation is based on Mahoney's projective tests. Barnett strongly emphasized the traumatic change from complete indulgence of the infant to ignoring his demands and punishing his behavior.

and feeding the child. Apparently this was very disturbing to the Trukese, who seem to have a fixation about food.

As the child approaches puberty, he is introduced gradually to the work of the household. Boys will help by climbing trees, gathering fruit, or gardening. Girls will help with housecleaning, getting water, or gardening. These duties are not usually too burdensome, though somewhat more is expected of girls than of boys. Much time is spent in play with peers and siblings.

The most enjoyable relationships for both girls and boys is with members of their peer groups of the same sex. Brothers are expected to be mutually supportive. In fact, a brother is obligated to come to aid of a brother in a fight or other trouble, even when he is at fault. In this respect, the term for "brother" includes all male cousins as well as siblings. The relationship between brothers (and between sisters) is the strongest of affective ties, stronger than parent and child. Friends who feel particularly close will sometimes become "brothers" by compact. They actually take on the obligations of brothers, including the obligations of kinship to each other's families. This may be a short term or a life long relationship.

Puberty is recognized as an important turning point for both boys and girls. For girls, it was traditionally marked by a period of isolation at the first menses, accompanied by appropriate rites. For boys, it traditionally was marked by his taking up residence in the men's lodge. Upon reaching puberty, brothers and sisters could not reside under the same roof. It was the brother who normally had to leave. Avoidance rules come into full force between members of the opposite

sex who fall under the incest taboo. Greater reserve and respect are also required between brothers, particularly from the younger to the older.

On the other hand, parental discipline is greatly relaxed. While both young men and young women are expected to participate more in the work of the household, this is not an onerous burden. Their introduction into subsistence activity is gradual. Somewhat more is expected of young women than of young men. The major preoccupation of adolescents is expected to be with the opposite sex. Attitudes towards sexual relations are very permissive.

Marriages create obligations between families and the consent of family and lineage heads is required. In most cases the husband lives with and works the land of his in-laws, who receive the benefits of his efforts. In some cases, the married couple will take up residence with the husband's lineage, in which case the relationship of in-laws is reversed.

Liaisons with the opposite sex usually do not cease with marriage, though they can become more hazardous. In spite of the web of obligations that are incurred between the families, marriages are fragile relationships. Gladwin found that on Romonum Island in Truk the person who had been married to the same spouse through married life was a rarity.

Marriage does not carry the kind of responsibility and authority associated with that status in other societies. Adult men and women must still defer to the heads of the households in which they live, either parents, uncles, or in-laws. The responsibility for the care, feeding, and discipline of their children is a corporate responsibility of the household. While they have their duties to support the subsistence

activities; the pace of life is slow. Intermittent periods of hard work are broken up by extended periods of relative inactivity or leisure.

It is only in advanced middle age that a person can advance to a position of head of household or lineage, or other position which carries responsibility and status. Only then is he considered mature.

Various commentaries on Truk suggest that when a person ages to the point that he is no longer able to do his share of work, so that he becomes dependent, he suffers a decline in prestige. Such a person may be dispossessed of his position of leadership and shunted aside. The only exception would be one who had some special knowledge, such as healing or divination.

Most accounts of customs in other districts imply that old people are respected and retain authority. Barnett does indicate that old men in Palau suffer a decline in status, but only if they have no titles and have acquired little wealth. This decline in status with old age may be a peculiar feature of Trukese society. On the other hand, the difference may lie in the interpretations of the investigators.

Social Control

There is also an apparent similarity among Micronesian societies with respect to how social control is exercised. In general, the family, kin group, and the community at large are collectively responsible for the conduct of individual members. There is no clear distinction between a tort (damage to an individual or family group) and a crime (against the community). Though a dispute or a complaint against an

individual may be referred to a chief or a lineage head for adjudication or settlement, the enforcement of the decision or verdict is a communal or group responsibility.[37]

For some types of offenses, the property of the offender may be seized by the members of the community or simply destroyed. For some kinds of offenses, punishment is left to supernatural agents to exact. For many offenses, it will take the form of public contempt, ridicule, or ostracism.[38] As Swartz indicates, fear of being shamed, publicly, is a source of considerable anxiety.[39]

In all of the studies, the subjects are described as inhibited in their emotional responses, capable of only shallow interpersonal relationships, devoid of strong feelings. They are distrustful of emotional involvement. They avoid self assertion. They seek security in conformity and submission to authority. They do not like to feel personally responsible for decisions. They feel anxiety over separation or isolation. Trukese are also said to have a strong anxiety about food and over their sexual adequacy.

Although the Palauans share all of the above characteristics, they have one distinguishing characteristic. They are driven by ambition. Under a surface humility, they are intensely competitive. They are engrossed in financial dealings. In matters where skill and proficiency is important, they take pride in cultivating proficiency. They greatly admire the clever manipulator of things or of men.

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[37] John L. and Ann M. Fischer, The Eastern Carolines, p. 182.

[38] William A. Lessa, Ulithi, A Micronesian Design for Living, p. 41.

[39] Marc J. Swartz, "Personality and Structure," pp. 30-32.

The constrained and inhibited personality of the Micronesians is attributed to the character of child rearing practices. The arbitrariness and authoritarianism, the use of deceit and ridicule--these qualities instill in the growing child a sense of the unreliability of human relationships. He seeks security in conformity, repressing his feelings of hostility and aggression, and avoiding strong emotional attachments. The element of personal ambition in the Palauan personality is generally attributed to the fact that Palauan society permits a degree of status mobility based on achievement and that competition and achievement are admired.

Marc Swartz states that among the Trukese, the repression of aggression and hostility creates internal conflict. Sometimes this aggression surfaces in acts of violence. The Trukese experience considerable anxiety as a result of their tendencies to violate their own internalized norms which prohibit aggression. In Swartz's analysis they have a tendency to look to the strong hand of authority to save them from themselves. This, in part, is how he explained their ready compliance with orders from the German administration to turn in their guns and cease fighting among themselves.[40]

Summary

The societies of Yap, the outer islands of Yap, and Truk share some important characteristics. They also exhibit significant differences.

Status is a dominant value in all of these societies. The status value is reinforced by a strong emphasis on obligation to the group, obedience, deference, and avoidance.

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[40]Marc J. Swartz, "Political Acquiescence in Truk," pp. 33-36.

Behavior is regulated by traditional prescriptions. These prescriptions have their origins in a system of proprietory rights over land (including reef areas), the produce of land, and traditional skills and knowledge, which are considered property. All members have a right to share and an obligation to contribute. It is easy to see why Durkheim described traditional societies as "contractual."

If leaders are marked by the deference they receive, they are not characterized by strong, assertive leadership. They are constrained by a need to know that their decisions express the consensus of the community.

Where rights are violated or obligations are slighted, enforcement is a diffuse activity of the community as a whole. It may involve appropriation of the offender's property. For lesser offenses, such penalties as community ostracism or ridicule are invoked. Even though enforcement is somewhat uncertain, the fear of such penalties is a powerful restraint.

The kinds of child rearing practices noted by Gladwin and other reinforce habits of deference, obedience, and conformtiy. They are not conducive to a strong sense of personal control over one's life space. They are not conducive to a feeling of trust in authority.

CHAPTER IX

POLITICAL FACTIONS: THEIR ORIGINS AND IMPACT

Introduction

In chapter one, it was stated that one of the important consequences of the development of survey research has been an awakened interest in political socialization, the process by which politically relevant attitudes, values, beliefs, and behavior are learned, maintained, and transmitted to the next generation.

In chapter eight, the findings of anthropologists who have studied the traditional political cultures of Micronesia were reviewed. It was found that the Micronesian societies share certain basic orientations toward authority. These orientations include a strong sense of obligation to subordinate one's interests to those of one's group and an attitude of deference towards those in authority. This attitude is exhibited in various forms of behavior exhibiting deference, obedience, and avoidance in dealing with authority figures.

Several studies involving the use of the projective techniques of the personality and culture school have thrown considerable light on child rearing practices through which these orientations are transmitted to the young. The findings of these studies strongly suggest that

attitudes and habits of conformity are reinforced by a sense of the unreliability of human relationships and a desire to avoid drawing attention to oneself. One who becomes self-assertive or uncooperative finds not just a few authority figures but the entire community allied against him. A highly effective system of communal sanctions includes ostracism, ridicule, and confiscation of property.

The political cultures of the traditional societies of Micronesia are parochial in the sense of the Almond and Verba classification (p. 29). To the extent that they are traditional, these societies are based on strong primary loyalty to the small, insular communities based on kinship and common land ownership. Such communities are not conducive to positive orientations towards a general political system that is based on alien institutions and is inclusive of all of Micronesia.

If Renshon is correct that a high need for personal control is essential to a sense of political efficacy, then it would be expected that persons who have been socialized to a culture based on conformity, deference, and obedience would not adapt well or easily to the demands of a participant culture.

The remaining chapters will be concerned with the comparative behavior of Micronesians in the new political systems. Differences reflect variations in their adaptations to these new systems. These, in part, reflect differences in traditional attitudes and behavior and, in part, differences in their stages of development and acculturation.

This chapter deals with divisions in the current political systems that have their origins in traditional society.

To understand the political process in any society, it is necessary to identify the factions that compete for control. To

understand the factions, it is necessary to identify the competing interests that they represent.

In the islands of Yap, Truk, and the Northern Mariana Islands, political factions are based on ethnic rivalry, regional competition, economic competition, and the conflict between traditional and new elites.

Party Politics in the Northern Mariana Islands

Politics in the Northern Mariana Islands is openly and intensely competitive. The political parties in the Mariana Islands developed out of very real differences between segments of the population over the question of the most desirable future political status for the island group.

There was general broad support among the people for the long range goal of permanent political association with the United States. However, there were serious differences of opinion on how best to accomplish this goal and in what time frame. These differences were based, in large measure, on real differences in the interests of the parties concerned.

The present Democratic Party was organized in 1960 under the name of the Popular Party. The nucleus of the party were the followers of former mayor Ignacio Benevente, who had dominated the municipal government during the decade of separation (1951-1961), when Mariana Islands politics was municipal politics. The majority of the Chamorros of Saipan belonged to the Popular Party. They favored merger with Guam as the quickest and surest way to permanent association with the United States. As Chamorros, they were of the same ethnic stock as the native people of Guam. They were literally brothers and cousins of Guamanians. They saw the abundance of jobs, the higher wage levels, and the more developed

urban life style on Guam as a picture of the ideal future for themselves and their children.

The present Territorial Party was formed in 1961 as the opposition to the Popular Party. This party had its origin in the faction that supported Elias Sablan, the first mayor of Saipan. Originally, they were called the Progressive Party. They changed the name, for a brief period, the Democratic Party, then to Territorial Party. This party consisted, originally, of all of those who, for one reason or another, opposed union with Guam. As an alternative, they proposed direct negotiations with the United States for permanent political association in a status separate from Guam.

The substantial Carolinian minority on Saipan opposed union with Guam for a most obvious reason. Their minority status would be even more pronounced when a dominant Chamorro majority on Saipan merged with the dominant Chamorro majority on Guam. The Carolinians were probably somewhat ambivalent with respect to the goal of permanent association with the United States. Although they expressed acceptance of it, they originally had misgivings about the prospect of being permanently separated from the large numbers of their fellow Carolinians in the Trust Territory. Being somewhat conservative about rushing the processes of change, they at least were in no hurry about becoming a permanent part of the United States.

Most of the leading businessmen on Saipan were among the founders of the Territorial Party. They were concerned about the potential competition from the better financed and more experienced business interests on Guam.

Some Territorial Party adherents were simply more conservative about rushing into a new status for which they felt unprepared. They argued that the people of the Mariana Islands should take time to prepare educationally and economically for participation in American society. They saw many hazards in pushing too fast.

As long as the politics of the Mariana Islands was municipal politics, the faction on Saipan that later became the Territorial Party was a permanent minority. The near monopoly of political control by the dominant faction was facilitated by a provision in the municipal charter that all members in the municipal council were to be elected at large on Saipan. This prevented the opposition from benefiting from geographic concentrations of support, particularly in the heavily Carolinian districts of San Jose village and district four of Chalan Kanoa village.

When the district legislature was formed in 1963, its charter provided that all members from Saipan would be elected at large, as would be the members from Rota and Tinian, in their respective municipalities. Since Saipan had such an overwhelming majority of the district population, this made it possible for the same faction, now organized as the Popular Party, to dominate that body.

With the reunion of Rota with the rest of the Mariana Islands in 1962, an important new element was added to the Territorial Party alliance (then called the Progressive Party). It may have been precisely because the Popular Party was the dominant party on Saipan that the dominant families on Rota decided to join the Territorial Party. Rota had been a separate district, in its own right. The people saw Saipan, as the seat of government and with a great advantage in numbers and in

economic development, in a position to dominate the affairs of the district. Secure in their control of the government, the Saipanese could afford to ignore the needs of Rota. Rota has supported the Territorial Party since the first election to the district legislature in 1963.

Historically, the Popular (now Democratic) Party has been the party which commanded the support of the majority of the numerically dominant Chamorros on Saipan. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say the majority of Chamorro families. The family is thought of as a unit in the politics of the Mariana Islands. The Territorial Party has been the coalition of minorities--the families of the business leaders, the majority of the Carolinians, the majority of the Rotanese, and a faction of the more conservative Chamorros.

Unlike Rota, Tinian has not clearly identified with either party. The distribution of its vote seems to have depended on who the particular candidates happened to be in a given election. On the surface, it would seem that the situation of Tinian is so similar to that of Rota that Tinian too would be inclined to join the coalition against the Saipan colossus. However, there are important differences in their situations.

The leading families of Rota go back many generations. By contrast, Tinian was virtually uninhabited at the end of the Second World War. There were thousands of Japanese on Tinian during the war and only about fifty natives of the Mariana Islands, who were taken there as laborers. In 1948, it was settled by 208 Chamorros who had been living in Yap during the Japanese era. Some had been born in Yap. Tinian is just across a narrow channel from Saipan. Perhaps of most importance, unlike Rota, Tinian was a part of the "Saipan district" during the era

when the Mariana Islands were separated. The leaders on Tinian may have found it more expedient to cooperate with, rather than compete with, the dominant group on Saipan.

In the first election to the Congress of Micronesia in 1965, the two Senate seats became the first political offices to be filled by districtwide election. On districtwide bases, neither party had a clear dominance. The representative districts for the three house seats divided Saipan, with the southern portion united with Rota and Tinian in a single district. As a result, the control of the Congress of Micronesia delegation from the Mariana Islands has shifted between the two parties since 1965. This reflects, in part, the greater balance which has resulted from districtwide offices and geographic districting on Saipan.

When the people of Guam voted against union with the northern Mariana Islands in 1969, making the merger with Guam a dead letter, the basic difference in goals between the parties became quite blurred. Both parties were committed to political association with the United States. The only discernible differences between the parties, from this point on, was a vague go slow attitude on the part of the Territorials and a preference for including the entire Trust Territory in the relationship, if possible, on the part of some of that party's spokesmen. The tendency of dissident elements in each party to run as independents or to switch parties has contributed to the instability of party alignments. Most of the shift in the parties' fortunes has been the result of the comparative drawing power of individual candidates.

On the Mariana Islands Political Status Commission that negotiated the covenant that established the terms of political association

of the Commonwealth with the United States, the representatives of Rota and Tinian pulled off a very significant political coup. They demanded as a condition of their islands joining the new Commonwealth an agreement that there will be a two-house legislature, with equal representation for the three municipalities in one of these houses. This condition was accepted and incorporated into the covenant between the United States and the Northern Mariana Islands.[1]

The consequences of this condition is that the constitution later written gives Rota, Tinian, and Saipan each three seats in the Senate of nine members. If they choose to work together, Rota and Tinian, with 13 percent of the total Commonwealth population, can completely control one house of the legislature.

The Territorial Party won the majority of seats in the convention that drafted the constitution for the new Commonwealth. They devised a system of districting for the twelve seats on Saipan that is a combination of single and multiple member districts, that virtually guarantees the Territorial party at least six of the fourteen seats in the house of representatives. There are no districts which, on the basis of past voting, can be called safely Democratic. The two districts which have been most consistently Democratic were both merged with other larger districts, which have tended to shift between the parties, each of these new districts having two members.

District four in Chalan Kanoa, that is overwhelmingly Carolinian, was made a single-member district. This provides one safe seat for the Territorial Party. The larger Carolinian village of San Jose

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[1] Covenant to Establish a Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands in Political Union with the United States of America, article II, February 15, 1975, section 203.

was merged with Garapan to form a new four-member district. To win that district, the Democrats would have to take Garapan by a very wide margin, to offset the very large margin the Territorials are certain to get in San Jose. This is very unlikely to happen. Garapan is a swing district. If anything, it has tended to lean towards the Territorial Party in recent years. This almost guarantees these four seats to the Territorial Party. The single house seat for Rota is the sixth safe seat for the Territorial Party.[2]

In the 1977 election, the Democrats won the positions of Governor and Lt. Governor by a very narrow majority. They won the third Commonwealth-wide position, that of Washington Representative, by a wider margin. The Territorial Party won control of both houses of the legislature. They won the Senate, five seats to four, taking all of Rota's seats and two of Saipan's. The Territorials won the House by a margin of eight seats to six. They easily won the six safe seats described above and split the two-member districts, winning one seat in each. In addition to the seats they won in these two-member districts, the Democrats won Tinian's seat and three single-member district seats in Chalan Kanoa and Susupe.

The Territorial Party elected five Carolinians to the House of Representatives. This is a record number of Carolinians to sit in any legislative body in the Mariana Islands. Three of the five are college graduates. One is the first Carolinian women to graduate from college. The Territorial Party also elected Oscar Cruz Rasa, who is half Ponopean and half Chamorro, but is strongly supported by the

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[2]Of course these are safe seats only as long as the loyalty of the Carolinians and the people of Rota to the Territorial Party endures.

Carolinians. He was the top vote getter in the four-member district, followed by Felicidad Ogomuro, the Carolinian woman. Rasa was elected Speaker of the House. The Democrats also elected a woman, Serafina King, from Tinian.

In summary, the two factions that have competed for control in the Mariana Islands had their origins in clear differences in viewpoint concerning the most desirable political future for the islands. These differences were not philosophical or ideological but represented real conflicts in interest based on ethnic and regional rivalries and economic interests.

There was general agreement on the desirability of economic development and modernization. There was also general agreement that these economic goals would be best served by some form of permanent political association with the United States, although there was some ambivalence and a go slow attitude on the part of the more conservative elements. In any case, any who might have opposed permanent association with the United States as the ultimate goal found the popular consensus too strong to resist. The conflict in opinion was over the form that association with the United States should take. The root of this conflict was the question of who would control the government under the new status.

One faction that represented the majority of Chamorros on Saipan was able to maintain a near monopoly of seats in the municipal council during the separation of Saipan from the Trust Territory through a system of electing all members at large. This faction became formally organized as the Popular Party in 1960, renamed the Democratic Party in

1977. With the overwhelming numerical superiority of Saipan, the Popular Party was able to control the new legislature under a system of representation in proportion to population, with each municipality electing all of its members at large.

The other faction represented the Carolinians, Chamorro conservatives and business leaders, and (after reunification) the majority of the Chamorro population on Rota. This faction organized as the Territorial Party in 1963. Its position was improved by the system of districting adopted for the Congress of Micronesia, which almost assured it of one of the three representative seats and a fair chance of capturing other seats.

With the elimination of the option of union with Guam and the gradual resolution of the status issue, the original bases for the parties ceased to exist. With the increasing tendency of dissidents to switch parties, the attachments of voters to the parties weakened. The Territorial Party retained more of a hard core of support since certain elements among its supporters were united by more tangible interests—business interests and regional or ethnic minority status.

A political coup by members of the status commission from Rota and Tinian combined with Territorial Party control of the constitutional convention resulted in a system of apportioning seats in the legislature of the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands that is highly advantageous to the Territorial Party. If it can hold the loyalty of its hard core supporters, it can be virtually assured of six out of the fourteen seats in the House and three of nine in the Senate, with an even chance (in any given year) at most of the others.[3]

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[3]At this writing, this hard core support has already shown signs of eroding. Some Carolinian representatives and their supporters

Under the formula of equal representation of municipalities in the Senate, Rota and Tinian, with 13 percent of the population, could control that house. To date, Tinian has not been disposed to align itself with Rota in opposition to Saipan.

Competition in the Politics of Yap District

It is easy to learn of the conflicts and controversies in the politics of the Mariana Islands from reading the Pacific Daily News, the Marianas Variety, and the Micronesian Independent. From such sources, one can easily identify the issues of controversy and the antagonists. One would look in vain for any such published accounts of controversies among the political leaders of Yap.

The only recorded controversies involving the Yapese are the occasional conflicts between the administration and the population, or a segment thereof, over some new administration action or proposal. For the most part, such controversies have involved the usage or acquisition of land in Yap. It is always permissible to oppose the administration, which is regarded as an alien entity. Even the expression of conflict with the administration is likely to be muted. Resistance is expressed in indirect ways. Personal attacks are avoided. The issue would have to be very important to provoke a direct confrontation. Controversies among Yapese are supposed to be resolved quietly between the parties concerned, in a spirit of accommodation, not confrontation.

Nonetheless, the course of political development in Yap has involved a competitive struggle between elements within the population.

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switched to the Democratic Party in 1979, leading to the loss of the Territorial majority in the legislature. From press accounts, this seems to result from a feeling that the Party leaders had carried partisanship to an unreasonable extreme, stalemating government.

These conflicts have been between the traditional leaders, on one side, and the educated leaders in the administration, the legislature, and Congress of Micronesia on the other side. They have also been between the Yapese and the outer island people. Both of these lines of division can be illustrated from a study of events in the historic development of the new institutions of self-government in Yap.

The Yap Council of Magistrates had its origins in an informal practice of the Navy administrators of bringing the magistrates together for biweekly meetings with leaders in the district administration for discussion of district problems. Often their meetings amounted to little more than the magistrates listening to the pronouncements of the administration.

In 1955, a new district administrator was appointed for Yap, who apparently decided to make the Council of Magistrates more than just a sounding board and a channel for the communication of orders from the administration. In 1956, there was a reorganization of the council and a new definition of its functions. The magistrates were to be elected for three-year terms. They were to have the power to appoint and remove their own secretaries. An executive committee was established, consisting of the president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer of the council. The executive committee was to represent the full council in meetings with the administration between the monthly council meetings. It was empowered to appoint members of boards and to set up committees as advisory groups. It had the authority to collect taxes, to prepare an islandwide budget, and to authorize the treasurer to make disbursements.

It even had the responsibility for the administration of certain local projects in the agriculture and public works fields.[4]

The newly reorganized Yap Islands Council was encouraged to review all government programs and to recommend changes and improvements. The council as planner and mobilizer of community activities was functioning in a manner that was quite similar to traditional activities of community leaders. They responded with some enthusiasm to the changes and showed a willingness to initiate their own programs and activities and to support these with money and labor. However, according to Lingenfelter's analysis, the institution of the council soon ran afoul of the Headquarter's orthodoxy concerning the proper role that self-government should follow in Micronesia.

In spite of the professed policy of instituting democratic reforms only in accordance with the expressed wishes of the people, the administration could not long accept an institution that did not conform to the "holy trichotomy" of separate branches of government.[5] The Headquarters staff of the High Commissioner began to press the District Administrator and the Yapese Council to establish a legislature for the Yap islands.

The Yap Islands Council was naturally unenthusiastic about setting up a rival institution with law-making power. For three years, they debated and delayed action. Finally, when the pressure became too insistent to be resisted, they proposed a unicameral legislature for the Yap Islands,

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[4]Sherwood G. Lingenfelter, "Administrative Officials, Peace Corps Lawyers and Directed Change on Yap," in Political Development in Micronesia, ed. Huges and Lingenfelter, pp. 58-59.

[5]Ibid., pp. 66.

with two representatives from each of the ten municipalities. The Yap Islands Congress was established in 1959.

It soon became apparent that the Yap Islands Council had surrendered power in name only. It began to function as the de facto executive committee for the new congress. This was possible because the congress consisted of younger men. Although, as a group, they had more western style education than the magistrates, they did not command the allegiance of the people. The magistrates named the candidates and the people routinely elected them. The young men might resent this state of affairs, but openly they had to defer, as tradition required. This control by the magistrates was reinforced by the fact that the legislative role was new and the incumbent legislators were unsure of their authority and unfamiliar with legislative procedures.[6]

The Yap Islands Council prepared legislation and submitted it to the Congress to enact. It also prepared the budget in advance of the Congress and submitted nominations to the district boards for Congress approval and confirmation by the District Administrator. If anything, the authority of the council was enhanced by the addition of the legislature.

The authority of the council was extralegal. The only authority for its existence was a statement of organization and functions drawn up by the council and approved by the District Administrator. Since the High Commissioner had been delegated all executive and legislative authority by the Secretary of the Interior, it is obvious that only he could redelegate such authority to any local body.

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[6]Norman Meller, The Congress of Micronesia (Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press, 1969), p. 24.

Lingenfelter has criticized the Trust Territory administration for its insistence on replacing an institution that was successfully functioning because it was compatible with traditional authority relationships with a new and less effective institution. In his analysis, this was done because the Yap Islands Council did not fit preconceived ideas about the form that self-government should take in Micronesia.[7]

No doubt, there is a great deal of truth in that analysis. The traditional authority of the magistrates enabled them to mobilize community support, especially labor, for such projects as road building, the erection of new schools, and other community facilities. This kind of leadership role was very similar to their functions in traditional society. However, it is quite likely that there was something more than just a commitment to orthodoxy behind the administration's push for the new legislature. It is most likely that the High Commissioner and the political affairs staff were being urged to this course by the educated young Yapese. These young men would be most conscious of the fact that all of the other districts had such elected legislatures.

By the year 1962, the requirements of orthodoxy had taken yet another turn. By then Yap was the only district without a districtwide legislature. The High Commissioner and his staff began to press the District Administrator and the Yapese leaders to convert the Yap Islands Congress into a legislature for the entire district. It is quite likely that they were getting strong signals from the legislators and the Yapese in the administration for just such a move.

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[7]Hughes and Lingenfelter, Political Development in Micronesia, pp. 65-67.

In any case, the members of the Yap Islands Congress were most receptive to the proposal for a district legislature when it was officially raised. For their own reasons, the Yap Islands Council was, likewise, very receptive. As the legislators had gained experience and confidence, the position of the Council had become increasingly untenable. Legislators were beginning to resist its leadership with respect to legislation and budgetary matters. It was the Council members' hope that, when the legislature became a districtwide body, they would regain their position as the municipal government of the Yap Islands.[8]

This was not what the political affairs staff in Headquarters had in mind. They felt that a council whose members were restricted to the two highest castes was an inherently unjust system. They wanted the High Commissioner to effectively abolish the council by converting the existing Yap Islands Congress to the position of a municipal council when the districtwide legislature was formed.[9] The High Commissioner was not prepared to go that far. In any case, the question of a municipal government for the Yap Islands became a facet of the question of establishing a districtwide legislature. A study commission on municipal government recommended converting the Council to a municipal government, but no action was ever taken to officially charter a municipal government. The Council of Magistrates has continued as a salaried, essentially advisory body to this date. Its salaries and expenses are funded by the legislature.

The biggest obstacle to overcome in the establishment of the district legislature was the resistence of the outer islanders, who were

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[8]Norman Meller, The Congress of Micronesia, p. 164.

[9]Hughes and Lingenfelter, Political Development in Micronesia, p. 61.

presumed to be its greatest beneficiaries. Since they were being taxed by the Yap Islands Congress, one might suppose that they would be eager to be represented in that body. Such a supposition would be unfounded. It assumes that the perceptions of outer island people are the same as those of Micronesians in the more developed islands.

The response of the outer island people to the proposal for a district legislature was the typical response of the more traditional Micronesians to proposals for radical constitutional changes. They protested that they were unprepared and too ignorant of legislatures, their purposes and methods to even consider trying to participate in one. They proposed that the political affairs staff undertake an extended program of education in these matters before asking them to consider a charter for such an institution.[10]

As Professor Norman Meller, retained as a consultant on the establishment of the legislature, soon learned, these arguments masked some deeper misgivings that the outer island people could not easily bring themselves to express. By working with their delegation alone, he learned that they perceived the proposed district legislature as a device by which the Yapese would assert greater control over them. They did not see their participation in the legislature as a means of protecting their interests. They were fearful of Yapese trickery.

The fact that, at that time, there were quite a few more educated people among the Yapese than among the outer island people gave substance to this fear. The Yapese, in addition, had the advantage of several years of experience with the institution of the legislature.

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[10]Norman Meller, The Congress of Micronesia, p. 169.

Under any formula of apportionment that was reasonably closely related to population size, the Yapese would outnumber the outer island people in the legislature.

The outer island people know that the Yapese considered them inferior. Under Yapese tradition, outer island people are considered low caste. They are expected to show deference to the Yapese in many ways.

After much discussion, the Yapese expressed a willingness to accept an apportionment of twelve seats in the legislature to nine for the outer islands.[11] This formula would have given the outer island people more representation than they would be entitled to on an apportionment by population size.

The two delegations reached consensus on the desirability of the legislature, the need to sell the idea to the outer island chiefs, and the need to persuade the chiefs to send one of their number from each of the atolls to the next meeting of the Yap Islands Congress for further discussion. Unfortunately, the proposed conference was cancelled by the Headquarters of the Trust Territory because of a severe budgetary cutback.

Two years later, the outer islanders were again invited to send their representatives to a meeting to coincide with the Yap Islands Congress meeting of May 1968. A proposal for a Yap District Legislature was finally agreed upon. It was chartered that same year. It included twelve representatives from the Yap Islands and eight from the outer islands.

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[11] Ibid., p. 173.

It is interesting to note that when the concept of the legislature was finally sold to the outer island people, such questions as the apportionment of representatives and the possible role of the chiefs in the legislature did not prove to be serious obstacles to agreement. The real obstacles to the legislature were the fear and misgivings of the outer island people. These were based on a natural fear of something new and different, compounded by their ancient distrust of the Yapese. The resistance of the original delegation from the outer islands was overcome by the adroitness of Professor Meller, acting as an intermediary and enabling them to express their deepest misgivings and to receive specific responses and reassurances with respect to each of them, without the need for confrontation between the two parties.

In traditional Micronesia, such a conference could have occurred only if there had been a mutual recognition of the need for some form of joint action or resolution of a conflict. Mutual fears and misgivings would have been minimized by an understanding that no decision would be made unless a consensus could be reached. Conflicts would have been resolved not by confrontation but by diplomacy, with much indirectness and circumlocution.

In 1977, a new constitution was approved for Yap district, in most respects similar to the constitution of Truk, the first of the revised district charters to be approved. The new Yap charter provides for an elected governor and lieutentant governor. It reduces the legislature to ten members and makes its members full-time legislators with an annual salary. This charter contains a bill of rights, with all of the rights found in the United States constitution.

The new charter for Yap contains a few unique and surprising features. Article VI officially establishes the Yap Islands Council and the Council of Chiefs of the outer islands. This article renames these councils the Council of Pilung and the Council of Tamol, respectively. Pilung and Tamol are the Yapese and outer island terms for chief. In providing for the Council of Pilung, it states that the traditional leaders of the respective municipalities will name their representatives to the Council, initially, and provide the method of succession.

With respect to the Council of Tamol, the charter simply states that it shall consist of the traditional leaders (hereditary chiefs) of the respective municipalities of the outer islands. It also provides that the Chairman of the Council of Tamol shall be the paramount traditional leader recognized by the people of the outer islands. Neither of these provisions represents any change from the status quo.

One would think that the provisions with respect to the method of selecting the members of the Council of Pilung would seem to be a regression to the new educated elite of Yap, after thirty years of experience with the popular election of magistrates.

Even more surprising is another provision of the charter. Article III, section 13 provides that a certified copy of every bill which has passed the legislature shall be presented to the Council of Pilung and the Council of Tamol for consideration. Either of these councils shall have the power to disapprove a bill that concerns tradition and custom or the role and function of a traditional leader as recognized by tradition and custom. It further states that these councils shall be the judge of whether a given act concerns these matters of tradition.

The adoption of these provisions demonstrates that the traditional leaders still wield a great deal of power. Theoretically, this section of the charter could constitute a considerable grant of power to the two councils. If interpreted broadly, any kind of modernizing development could be construed as concerning tradition and custom by its impact on the Yapese life-style. Even under a narrow construction, any law affecting marriage, adoption, rules of inheritance, or the sale or encumbrance of land is dealing with a matter that has been regulated by tradition and custom. Even under a narrow construction, this seems to be a significant reassertion of traditional authority.

In the past, the traditional leaders have had difficulty trying to cope with the intracacies of legislation. It remains to be seen how significant this new grant of power will prove in practice.

The life of the Yap Islands Council of Magistrates, now the Council of Pilung, has persisted since the early days of the Navy administration, in the absence of any legal charter from the High Commissioner (until 1977) and against periodic efforts to bring about its demise.

It is generally recognized today as the representative of Yapese traditional leadership, although the position of municipal magistrate represents a restructuring of the traditional authority system, that began under the Germans. Some of the magistrates can truly be said to be chiefs in the strictest traditional sense. All are at least of high caste. Some of the magistrates have claims to traditional title that are questionable on traditional grounds, at best. However, there is enough factual basis to their claims to traditional status to give it the color of traditional legitimacy.

Factionalism in Truk

As in the cases of the Northern Mariana Islands and Yap, the political process in Truk is marked by competition between factions that have their roots in traditional divisions in the society. These divisions reflect the persistence of Trukese parochialism.

In Truk, as in Yap, the outward expression of political conflict is muted by a traditional value system that stresses harmony, consensus decision making, and the avoidance of conflict.

Factionalism in Trukese politics grows out of rivalries between lineages, clans, and districts. There are no rivalries that could be labeled ethnic, since the native people share a common language, culture, and history. There is a rivalry between the outer islands and Truk Lagoon populations, particularly between those of the Mortlocks and the dominant clans on Moen. However, these regional cleavages are obscured by the fact that regional and kin based loyalties overlap and intersect. Kinship takes precedence over place of residence, when loyalties conflict.

To some extent, one can also see signs of the ongoing competition between the traditional and new elites. However, traditional leaders in Truk have generally been either unwilling or incapable of defending their status and authority against the challenge of the new educated elites in the administration, the legislature, and the congress.

Two traditions may account for this decline of traditional leadership. One is the tradition of disapproval of strong, assertive leadership. As pointed out in chapter eight, Trukese traditional leaders are reluctant to take responsibility for decisions. The heavy emphasis on harmony, consensus, and conflict avoidance makes for temporizing

behavior. Nonassertive leadership is not likely to survive the challenge of new leadership in a time of rapid change.

The second tradition which helps to account for the decline of traditional leadership is the willingness of the Trukese to accommodate to change imposed from without. This tendency, too, was noted in the discussion in chapter eight.

Traditionally, there was no paramount chief in Truk and, in most cases, no island chief. The society was politically fragmented. Yet when the Germans set up one of the district chiefs as island chief (flag chief), the Trukese accepted the change and accommodated to it. When a paramount chief for the Truk Lagoon was set up, the people accommodated to that change.

As Nason explains the case of Etal in the Mortlocks, the people accepted changes in form, while preserving their island autonomy, their political space, and their traditional forms of political behavior. The first headmen, or magistrates as they were later called, were members of the chief's family. Their directives from the German authorities were, at first, interpreted as communications to the district chiefs of matters to be dealt with by them in council. In time, the magistrate became the convener of meetings, the de facto leader. The two district chiefs began to refer decisions to him. He chaired a council of clan leaders. After some years of American administration, the young men began to insist that the council be made elective. In time, the elective council began making all of the decisions, including those traditional matters that had been the province of the clan leaders.[12]

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[12]James D. Nason, "Political Change: An Outer Island Perspective," in Political Development in Micronesia, ed. Hughes and Lingenfelter, pp. 128-39.

Through all of these gradual structural changes, traditional forms of behavior continued unchanged. Elected leaders were deferred to in the same manner as that which had been exhibited towards the traditional leaders. The traditional pattern of decision making by consensus was followed by the elected leaders.

In general, this is a good description of Trukese politics today. There is some variation in the position of traditional leaders from island to island. Magistrates are elected but they may be chiefs in the traditional sense that they are the leaders of the highest ranking clan. This is the situation of Fujita Bossy, the magistrate of Moen. He is the leader of the highest ranking clan. However, he is not accepted as paramount chief by all of the clan leaders on Moen. He is acknowledged as the magistrate, which is an elective position.

Elected leaders and appointed administrators have eclipsed traditional leaders in importance. These structural changes have achieved general acceptance and legitimacy. On the other hand, traditional attitudes of deference to authority (whatever its nature and origin), avoidance of confrontation, and decision making by consensus are still strong.

In the constitutional convention for Micronesia, one of the issues was whether some kind of functional role for the traditional leaders should be incorporated into the constitution. It was the traditional leaders from Truk and Ponope, and their interpreter advisers, who were the outspoken advocates of such a role. It may seem odd that the traditional leaders of Truk, where they are weakest, would be the ones taking a leading role in this struggle. Perhaps it is precisely because they are the weakest of traditional leaders that the Trukese chiefs felt

compelled to take this role. A debating of the role of the chiefs is the surest sign of the decline of chiefly authority.

Interestingly, it was the delegation from Yap, where the chiefs have been most successful in retaining their authority, that argued, from a unanimous position, that it would be inappropriate to include a role for the chiefs. They stated that the Yapese chiefs did not need the constitution to tell them what their role is: they know their role.

In addition to the question of a possible constitutional role for the chiefs, there was the issue of whether the provisions of the proposed "bill of rights" in the constitution would conflict with traditional functions and prerogatives of the chief.

The younger, western educated men who dominated the convention handled the issues raised by the traditional leaders with great finesse. Except for two self-styled "devil's advocates" from Truk, the members of the convention consistently disavowed any intention of undermining the traditional role of the chiefs or the high respect in which they are held. At the same time, they resisted the suggestion of writing into the constitution any role for the chiefs. They pacified the chiefs, to some extent, by including an article on traditional rights. This included a statement to the effect that the Congress may establish a Chamber of Chiefs "when needed." It also included a disclaimer of any conflict between the provisions of the constitution and the traditional role and prerogatives of the chiefs. Finally, it provided that any state (i.e., the former districts) may incorporate a function for the traditional leaders into its constitution.

The Magistrates and the District Legislature

As elsewhere in Micronesia, local government in Truk began with magistrates or magistrates and councils in every municipality. In 1953, a Truk District Council of Magistrates was established as an advisory body. They met once a year to consult with one another and with the administration on common problems. They established a permanent advisory body of six members, four from the Truk Lagoon and one each from the Western Islands and the Mortlocks. Each member of the advisory committee was chairman of a committee of the entire council. These committees dealt with land, business, health and education, agriculture and fisheries, taxes and budget, and government.

The Council of Magistrates, though categorized as an advisory body, could pass resolutions which had the effect of law, unless disapproved within 180 days.

By 1956, the Council of Magistrates unanimously voted to recommend the establishment of a district legislature composed entirely of elected members. As first established in 1957, this Truk Congress had 52 members, one for each 500 of the population.[13] In the revised charter of 1963, the total membership was set at 27.[14]

There has never been a situation in Truk in any way analogous to that of Yap in which the magistrates were able to control the legislature during its early years. From the outset, the Trukese recognized the role of district legislature members as a new one, with no antecedents in the traditional society. It was accepted that this role required

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[13] United Nations Visiting Mission Report, 1960, p. 7.

[14] Annual Report to the United Nations, 1965, p. 26.

qualifications of a different order than those of leaders in the traditional society. A few traditional leaders were elected to the legislature but they were persons, such as Chief Petrus Mailo, the first chairman of the Congress of Truk, who had demonstrated their leadership in the affairs of government.

As in Yap, only the magistrates and their staffs are full-time salaried positions. Members of the municipal councils, if any, are paid only for the meetings they attend.

The municipalities get most of their funding from the district legislature. They issue business licenses and collect the fees. They also receive revenue from a head tax collected annually from every adult citizen.

The magistrate and council are primarily spokesmen for their municipalities. They appear to have much less influence on the legislators than do their counterparts in Yap on the Yapese legislators. The legislators from their own municipalities will try to support their requests, for these legislators need the magistrates' support at election time. This support is probably not as important on Moen, where the legislators are likely to have their own constituencies, as on other islands. It is very important on Tol, where no one could win a seat in the legislature if he were opposed by the magistrate.

It has been stated that there is evidence of a rivalry between the populations of the outer islands of Truk and those of the Truk Lagoon. There is even more a rivalry between the Mortlockese and the Moenites. However, clan membership and clan loyalties cut across these regional lines of division. There has been considerable two-way migration between Moen and the Mortlocks and between the Mortlocks and certain other lagoon

islands. This creates ties of common clan membership between residents of these islands which, at stated above, take precedence over ties based solely on common place of residence.

The outer islands-lagoon rivalry can be seen in the distributions of votes between Andon Amaraich of Ta Island in the Mortlocks and his opponents from Moen in the Truk Lagoon in the years 1966 and 1974. These distributions are shown in table 10.

To interpret this distribution, it is necessary to know that certain Mortlockese clans are well represented on Moen, Uman, Dublon, and Fefan in the Truk Lagoon. On Satawan in the Mortlocks are members of Nick Bossy's father's clan. This, undoubtedly, accounts for the 100 votes he received from the Mortlocks in 1974.

From the figures in table 10, it is quite clear that the polarization between the outer islands and the lagoon islands was much greater in 1974 than in 1966. This greater polarization of the vote is particularly striking in comparing the Mortlocks, the Hall, and Western Islands and the Faichuk area in the Truk Lagoon between these two elections. The reason for this polarization can be made clear by a brief review of political events prior to 1974.

Andon Amaraich was one of the senior senators in the Congress of Micronesia who had pushed for giving that body the right to confirm the High Commissioner's appointments to positions of department heads, or equivalent, in the Trust Territory government. Finally, this authority was granted to a joint committee of the two houses of the Congress, of which Senator Amaraich was chairman.

The first Micronesian to be nominated to head a department was Chutomu Nimwes, the Truk district director of education, who was nominated

Table 10

A Comparison of the Votes Received (Numbers and Percentages) by Candidates from the Mortlock Islands and From Moen in the Truk Lagoon in the Senatorial Elections in Truk in 1966 and 1974, by Representative District, Region, and Total

Elections	Total Vote	Outer Islands Districts			Truk Lagoon Districts			
		Mortlocks Distr. 15	Halls Western I. Nomonuito Distr. 18	Total Outer Islands	Moen Distr. 16	Dublon Fefan Uman Distr. 17	Faichuk Distr. 19	Total Lagoon Districts
1966								
Andon Amaraich (Mortlocks)								
No. of Votes	3,008	1,396	581	1,977	99	419	513	1,031
Percentage	44.8	70.4	61.7	67.6	10.7	34.0	30.3	26.8
Nick Bossy (Moen)								
No. of Votes	1,898	537	165	702	342	480	374	1,196
	28.0	27.1	17.5	24.0	37.1	39.0	22.1	31.1
Sasaup Haruo (Moen)								
No. of Votes	1,868	51	196	247	482	333	806	1,621
Percentage	27.6	2.6	20.8	8.4	52.2	27.0	47.6	42.1
Total Vote	6,774	1,984	942	2,926	923	1,232	1,693	3,848

Table 10, continued

Elections	Total Vote	Outer Islands Districts			Truk Lagoon Districts			
		Mortlocks Distr. 15	Halls Western I. Nomonuito Distr. 18	Total Outer Islands	Moen Distr. 16	Dublon Fefan Uman Distr. 17	Faichuk Distr. 19	Total Lagoon Districts
1974								
Andon Amaraich (Mortlocks)								
No. of Votes	6,006	2,488	1,030	3,518	540	1,537	411	2,488
Percentage	48.5	96.1	82.6	91.7	24.3	53.2	12.0	29.1
Nick Bossy (Moen)								
No. of Votes	6,382	100	217	317	1,685	1,353	3,027	6,065
Percentage	51.5	3.9	17.4	8.3	75.7	46.8	88.0	70.9

SOURCE: Official election returns, certified by the election commissioner.

to be the Trust Territory director of education. Senator Amaraich, as chairman, signed the committee report which turned down Nimwes on the grounds that he was not qualified for the post. A Palauan was later nominated and approved by the committee.

Later, Mitaro Danis, deputy district administrator of Truk, was nominated to be the first Trukese district administrator. Again the confirmation was denied on the grounds that the nominee lacked certain necessary qualifications.

These were the first two Trukese to be nominated for top posts in the government. Both were turned down by Amaraich's committee. Both were from the Faichuk area, which includes the islands of Tol, Udot, and several smaller islands.

The people of the Faichuk area are convinced that Senator Amaraich, as a Mortlockese, was motivated by envy at the prospect of men of the Faichuk area being the first Trukese to be appointed to top administrative positions. Mitaro Danis stated that a letter to the joint committee on executive appointments, opposing the amendment, was signed by fourteen Mortlockese members of the legislature.

This feeling against Amaraich among the people of Faichuk no doubt induced the Mortlockese to unite in his support. Thus, his portion of the Mortlocks vote went from about 70 percent in 1966 to 96 percent in 1974. On the other hand, his support in the Faichuk area fell from 30 percent to 12 percent between the same two elections.

The people of the Mortlocks have always felt that they were discriminated against in the district center. For example, in the 1977 election it was charged that Mortlockese were discriminated against in

the distribution of typhoon relief, particularly materials for emergency housing. On the other hand, the people of the lagoon have always pointed out that Mortlockese have long held a disproportionate number of positions in the district administration.

The substantial increase in support for Amaraich in the district that includes the Hall Islands, the Western Islands, and Namonuito Atoll may be another indication of the rivalry between the outer islands and the Truk Lagoon. However, there is no doubt that a major factor was the support that Senator Amaraich received from his colleagues, Senator Tosiwo Nakayama, who is from Namonuito.

Amaraich and Nakayama maintain that Nick Bossy was the High Commissioner's candidate. They also accuse the district administrator of that time, John Sablan, of manipulating the conduct of the election to insure Amaraich's defeat. In this respect, the district administrator was allegedly acting as the High Commissioner's agent. Senator Amaraich had not only turned down the High Commissioner's nominees for two posts, but, in the case of the nominee for director of education, his report was a scathing rebuke of the High Commissioner's methods and motives for his selection. Senator Amaraich had been one of the dominant figures in the Congress and one of the severest critics of the administration.

When Nick Bossy was finally seated in the Senate, following the challenge to the election results, he experienced a sense of isolation. He felt that he was resented for having displaced a leading member of the inner circle. He had forced his way in against old guard resistance. Andon Amaraich, along with Senate President Tosiwo Nakayama and Congressman Raymond Setik (A Mortlockese) had been in the Congress of Micronesia since its inception. Along with charter members from other districts,

they resented a newcomer who had ousted a favorite member of the club. At least it seemed this way to Senator Bossy.

The year 1972 had been a high-water mark for the Trukese members of the old guard in Congress. Five of the six incumbent members from Truk had won reelection and four of these had run unopposed. Never before had so many run unopposed.

The election of 1974 was a sharp contrast with the preceding election. Four of the six incumbents were opposed for reelection and all of these incumbents lost. In 1976, by contrast, all six incumbents (one Senate and five house members) won reelection. Three of them were unopposed. In addition, reapportionment gave Truk two more seats, which were filled in that election.

These changes and turnover in the other districts contributed to a moderate revolt against the old guard. Raymond Setik of Truk lost his chairmanship of the House Ways and Means Committee to Kuniwo Nakamura of Palau, although he remained as chairman of the Joint Committee on the Budget.

In all, the events surrounding the election of 1974 exhibit the intersecting influence of several kinds of rivalries that are inherent in the politics of the district. These include a general outer island-Truk Lagoon rivalry, a more specific Mortlockese-Moenite rivalry, a rivalry between Micronesians in the administration and those in the Congress, the rivalry between the American High Commissioner and his staff and the leadership of the Congress of Micronesia and, finally, between the old guard and newcomers to the Congress.

Such rivalries can lie dormant until they are triggered by some event that creates conflict, such as the controversy rising out of the

refusal of the joint committee of the Congress to approve the Trukese nominees for top jobs in the administration. Such conflicts stimulate parochial loyalties, resulting in increased unity within constituent groups and increased polarization in society as these groups are aligned in opposition to one another.

For many years, conflict and rivalry in Trukese politics was contained by the influence of Chief Petrus Mailo, who died in 1971. Chief Petrus was paramount chief of Truk, mayor of Moen municipality, and Chairman of the Board of Directors of Truk Trading Company.

Petrus was a great practitioner of the traditional method of decision making by consensus. During this time, there was a very close working relationships between the Speaker of the Truk legislature, the entire Trukese delegation to the Congress of Micronesia, and Chief Petrus. To some extent, this included the district administrator after the appointment of the first Micronesian, John Sablan.

During Chief Petrus's later years, the Congress of Micronesia was formed. He was elected to the first Congress, but by 1968 he decided not to run for reelection. From that time on, he and the Speaker of the Truk legislature, sometimes with other legislators and magistrates, would visit Saipan during the Congress of Micronesia sessions. Each night this group would caucus with the entire Truk delegation to the Congress to discuss current legislation or problems with the administration.

Chief Petrus typified the traditional ideal of leadership. He had a strong sense of responsibility and concern for Truk and its people. His manner was quiet and he exhibited the traditional leader's modesty and decorum in all of his dealings with others. He was knowledgeable on

Trukese tradition. He was considered a man of great practical widsom. Young Trukese leaders would take their problems to him for advice.

Petrus demonstrated that the traditional style of leadership can be very effective, at least in reconciling differences and in preserving unity, when it is executed with sensitivity and skill. It was a common testimony among his followers that his influence was based more on the high respect which he commanded by his personal character and integrity than on any position that he held.

Summary

It is clear that traditional rivalries have formed the basis for significant political divisions in the new system of representative government. In the case of the Mariana Islands, these rivalries are based on ethnic and regional divisions. In Yap, the traditional dominance of the outer islands people by the people of Yap has caused the former to seek to protect their interests and autonomy. In Truk, the most significant rivalry is between clans. In addition, there is some interregional rivalry, particularly between the outer islands and the lagoon populations.

In both Yap and Truk, there has been conflict between traditional and new elites. In Yap, the traditional elites have succeeded in maintaining a considerable degree of influence. In Truk, they have been unsuccessful, generally, in maintaining themselves as serious rivals to the new elites in government, although clan leaders are very influential people within the confines of their restricted groups. In most local situations, traditional leaders are still very strong. They are most successful when they convert or combine traditional authority with new wealth, or other forms of influence in the new system.

CHAPTER X

THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

In chapter one, it was stated as axiomatic that when institutions are transplanted from one culture to another they will be transformed to reflect, to some extent, the value orientations and behavioral norms of the receiving society. Since there is a considerable variance in the extent to which the island communities of Micronesia have been exposed to the forces of change, it is naturally expected that will be evident in their orientations towards the new institutions.

These expectations are born out in the results of this study of the contemporary political behavior of the inhabitants of the Northern Mariana Islands, Yap, the outer islands of Yap, and Truk. The variations in political behavior among these populations are most highly visible in observations of the electoral process. This is the one process that involves people at every level of education and every level of economic, political, and social involvement in society.

The most readily observable aspect of electoral behavior is the process of conducting electoral campaigns. It is fortunate that electoral campaigns were going on in both the Northern Mariana Islands and Truk during the survey of those islands. It was possible to observe

political meetings and campaign speeches and to interview a wide range of candidates, office holders, election officials, observers, and voters for explanations of observed behavior. In Yap, it was necessary to rely on such informants and the aid of available records and commentaries in order to reconstruct the electoral campaign process from the past.

In addition to the campaign process, other aspects of electoral politics which will be examined are voter participation, the electoral machinery, and explanations of electoral results.

Election Campaigns

That the people of the Northern Mariana Islands and the people of Yap represent the polar extremes in Micronesia on the acculturation continuum is nowhere more evident than in the comparative ways in which political campaigns are conducted.

Electoral campaigns in the Northern Mariana Islands display all of the common characteristics of elections in the United States, including a two-party system, with party nominating conventions and party platforms. Candidates appeal to voters through campaign speeches, rallies, and fund raising events. They attack their opponents' qualifications and records of performance and extol their own.

Campaigning in the Northern Mariana Islands involves radio and television spot commercials, newspaper ads, campaign posters everywhere, bumper stickers, campaign buttons, T-shirts, leaflets, and other paraphernalia of campaigning in the United States.

Although a television station has existed on Saipan since the early 1970s, it was not used for political advertising until 1977, following the advent of cable television. In the 1977 election, only the

Territorial candidates for governor and lt. governor, both wealthy businessmen, and Mike White, a Democratic candidate for the legislature, made use of television commercials. Mike White is an attorney and a "statesider," the first such to run for public office in Micronesia. In another first in Micronesia, the Territorial candidates for governor and lt. governor employed a public relations firm from Guam to advise them on the conduct of their campaign.

The principal campaign activity is the village meeting, conducted in the open air. All candidates in a party, as a group, visit each village in turn. They set up loud speaker systems and each candidate takes his turn addressing the crowd.

True partisans in the Mariana Islands expect their candidates to attack their opponents, hammer and tong, and are inclined to criticize a candidate who is too soft on the opposition. An opponent's qualification, his competence, his integrity, his personality, his marital life; all are considered fair targets for attack.

According to one report, an opposition candidate was once criticized because the tip end of one of his fingers was cut off. The point was that it would not look right for a person with such a defect to be appearing in public ceremonials.

A Territorial Party leader denied a report that his party was making an issue of the fact that the Democratic candidate for governor, Carlos Camacho, is a divorced man. At the same time, this Territorial spokesman predicted that Camacho's divorce would not "set well with the voters."

Many of the people who are not strong partisans said that they do not attend the village political meetings because the

speakers engage only in personal attacks, not discussion of issues.

There is some discussion of issues in the campaigns but the discussion tends to be ad hominem. A full page ad in the Marianas Variety pointed out, among other things, that Francisco Ada, the Democratic candidate for lt. governor, when he was the District Administrator, had three times vetoed minimum wage laws. The advertisement concluded with the statement that he had forgotten that he was there to represent the people.[1]

There is actually very little evidence of any distinction between the parties on the basis of issues. Their published platforms were very similar. In fact, some of the Democratic candidates stated that the Territorials simply copied the platform of the Democratic Party. To illustrate the similarity, the Democrats had proposed to increase the minimum wage in the Mariana Islands in three successive stages. The Territorial Party proposed a similar three-stage increase, except that they upped each of the three figures by about thirty cents.[2]

When candidates are seriously discussing their candidacy with voters, they tend to center the discussion on their relative qualifications. Degrees and special training, the positions one has held, and his relative effectiveness are stressed. In the minds of the candidates, the choice of the voters is between two candidates on the basis of their relative qualifications for a leadership role. Issues play little or no part, ideology even less. Even the party identification is a minor

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[1] Marianas Variety, November 10, 1977.

[2] Democratic Party Platform, 1977, column 3, Employment and Social Security; Territorial Party Platform, 1977, column 1, Employment and Tax Reduction.

consideration, though it clearly means something to some voters.[3] In the eyes of many voters, and even among candidates and office holders, the parties are simply the established vehicles for the conduct of the election. This is not said in derogation of the parties. They well fulfill their functions of political recruitment and socialization and the organizing, financing, and conduct of the election campaigns. They have tapped and channeled some traditional loyalties. They are nonideological parties. Now, many of the traditional loyalties that found reflection in the composition of the parties are breaking down.

Political Campaigning, Yap Style

None of the above methods of campaigning are found in Yap. There are no political parties, all candidates run as individuals. The methods of campaigning reflect traditional norms of conflict avoidance, modesty, dignity, and decorum and respect for the traditional authority.

In Yap there are no political campaign speeches, no banners, no posters, no buttons, no newspaper ads of political candidacy, and no campaign meetings. No candidate stands up to speak of his public record of service, his qualifications for office, or to suggest to the voters that he has the answers to the problems of Yap. No candidate can attack a political opponent or question his competence, qualifications, integrity, or past actions. To suggest to others that one is uniquely qualified for office or to publicly criticize another person would be considered inexcusable behavior. It would win no favor with the voters.

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[3]The basis of these generalizations will be made clear in the later sections dealing with voter participation and the explanation of electoral results.

In Yap, one will see no visible signs that an election campaign is in progress, except perhaps for notices and announcements from the election board to the voters.

None of the above is to suggest that the prize of elective office is necessarily less valued by the Yapese or sought with less eagerness. What then does a candidate do to get elected in Yap?

To begin with, one has to be rather high in the social scale to be seriously considered as a candidate. At the very least, he cannot be of low caste. Secondly, one needs to be asked by someone else to become a candidate. Without fail, every elective office holder interviewed stated that, at the time of his first election, he ran at the urging of someone else. One can hardly suggest oneself. It may be the magistrate, the highest traditional leader, an elective office holder, or anyone who can influence such persons to support the candidate.

In Yap proper, there is an increasing tendency to select candidates who have college degrees or, at least, some college training. This is particularly true of candidates for the Congress of Micronesia, which functions exclusively in English.[4] It is less true of the legislature, but more true of Yapese than of outer island candidates to the legislature. It is not true at all with respect to the positions of magistrate and municipal councillor.

To be elected to office, it is necessary to secure the support of a sufficient number of chiefs, magistrates, and other influential people in enough villages in the candidate's constituency. Unless there

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[4]There have been at least two cases in which members of the Congress of Micronesia were elected who required the services of interpreters by their sides. Both held extremely high positions in their traditional societies.

are rival candidates from his own lineage, clan, or village, a candidate would be able to count on the full support of these, his natural constituencies. The principal purpose of the campaign is to win the support of those who are not otherwise committed.

To win support of the local chief and elders, it is necessary to proceed in accordance with the traditional deference and avoidance norms. A candidate cannot simply go calling on a chief, he must be invited. This requires the intercession of intermediaries. Most persons who would be logical candidates for office will have working associates or former classmates in just about every village. The higher the standing of these associates, the better. An associate can be informally approached and persuaded to arrange for an invitation to the village to meet with the chiefs and elders. If the associate is not very high in status, he may have to work through intermediaries in order to arrange this himself.

The candidate goes to the village to meet the chiefs and elders, not to address the public. He does not go to talk about himself but to meet the leaders, socialize, and perhaps to answer questions. If he gets the support of the leaders, particularly the ranking chief, he will get the votes of the village. He will probably not get a formal endorsement but the word will circulate that he has the support of the chief.

Political Campaigning Trukese Style

The place is a village on the island of Udot in the Truk Lagoon. A large shaded area has been created by extending a roof of a woven coconut leaves out from the side of a house for some thirty feet, anchored at the far corners by poles. Under and around this shaded area, an overflow crowd of perhaps one hundred or more villagers are seated on the ground, in a manner characteristic of public meetings in Truk.

This group has assembled to hear Erhart Aten, one of the three candidates for the honor of becoming the first elected governor of Truk district, and Ngas Kansou, candidate for lt. governor. It is July 1978. The election will be in August.

The two candidates are running as a team, as are other candidates for these two offices. This is an innovation in Trukese politics. The two are accompanied by a third speaker, Senator Nick Bossey of the Congress of Micronesia, who is campaigning on their behalf. This is another innovation. In the past, an incumbent congressman might have let it be known that he endorsed a candidate for another office but this kind of open campaigning for another candidate is new.

The three campaigners are seated at a small table at one end of the enclosure. They are the only persons occupying chairs. Senator Bossy speaks first, for about five minutes. He remains seated. His voice is loud enough to be easily heard but conversational, not oratorical, in tone. He explains his reasons for supporting the two candidates. He then introduces Erhart Aten, who speaks a bit longer, devoting some of his commentary to explaining his reasons for choosing to run as a team with Ngas Kansou, the final speaker. Between each of the candidates' speeches, two or three persons in the audience rise and make brief comments. All speeches, of course, are in Trukese.

After the meeting, the candidates are asked what they had said, especially about their opponents. Is it not considered bad form to publicly criticize another person? Yes, it is so considered. The problem of the opponents are compounded by the fact that, although this is home territory for Erhart, it is also the home territory for both of Ngas'

opponents for lt. governor. Both of these other candidates had relatives present.

The speakers had handled the problem of the opposing candidates by praising them. At that time, Chutomu Nimwes was director of education for the district and Hans Wiliander, the other candidate for lt. governor, was a representative in the Congress of Micronesia. The speakers stated that both of these men are doing a very good job. They are needed in their present positions. This would not persuade their relatives not to vote for them but neither would it give offense to them. The meeting was conducted without a discordant note. The comments from the audience, as their tone had suggested, had been statements of support.

While the candidates could not talk about themselves, they could, and did, talk about the needs of Truk and what they think can be done about them. While they cannot speak boastfully about themselves, there is nothing to prevent them from praising their running mates or candidates they are supporting.

To balance this picture, it should be pointed out that one of the supporters of Koichi Sana, another candidate for governor, took issue with the statement that Erhart and Ngas always refrained from criticizing their opponents. According to this informant, before some audiences, they did indicate that the performance of Chutomu Nimwes, as director of education, and Koichi Sana, as hospital administrator, left something to be desired. It was also widely reported that Koichi Sana and his supporters had blamed Erhart, as deputy district administrator, for the fact that Udot was allocated so much money in the budget for roads, while Uman was allocated nothing for this purpose. This was reportedly said on Uman. It

may be that the traditional restrictions on publicly criticizing others are sometimes violated before a safe audience or when one can score on a particularly sensitive point. However, it seems that such critical remarks are not usually made in a public setting. It is better to let one's supporters pass these kinds of remarks along, through a whispering campaign.

The meeting on Udot illustrates many of the similarities and differences in the political campaigning of Truk and that of both the Mariana Islands and Yap.

Unlike the Mariana Islands, there are no political parties on Truk. Candidates for office run as individuals. As in the Mariana Islands, and in contrast to Yap, candidates openly contest one another for office. They address their appeals directly to the voters in public meetings.

The latter statement needs to be qualified. The candidates do not campaign in areas where the leadership has endorsed another candidate or where natural loyalties are undivided. For example, Koichi Sana is from Losap in the Mortlocks. Neither of the other candidates for governor has any ties to Losap. They would not campaign in Losap, assuming Koichi would get the entire Losap vote. Sokichy Fritz, the third candidate for governor, while coming from Moen belongs to a clan that is represented in the Satawan area. Fellow clan members, at least, would vote for him over an unrelated Mortlockese.

The political system of Truk in some ways has the appearance of a hybrid of the political systems of the Mariana Islands and Yap. It has some of the characteristics of both. It is openly competitive, with

appeals made directly to the voter, as in the Mariana Islands. On the other hand, there are rules of demeanor and conduct that limit the manner in which competition can be expressed, as in Yap. The kind of unbridled attack on the opposition that is expected in the Mariana Islands would be strongly disapproved in Truk.

There is less dependence on the support of traditional leaders or magistrates than in Yap. Yet there are local variations in this respect. In some cases, such support can be decisive.

Voter Participation

Research in electoral behavior in the United States shows a consistent positive correlation between participation in elections and such variables as education, interest, knowledge of government, and sense of political efficacy.

Where knowledge and interest in government is slight, where levels of formal education are low, and where there is little sense that one's vote can have a significant influence on government, it is normally expected that voter turnout would be low. Among Micronesians in general and among outer island populations in particular these conditions associated with low turnout are common.

In addition, there is little public discussion of political issues, except in the several area newspapers that a high percentage of the people cannot read. A high percentage of the respondents to the political attitude survey indicated that they seldom or never discussed government and politics with family, friends, and associates. On the basis of these facts, it would be reasonable to expect a low rate of participation in the electoral process.

Instead, election officials generally report turnouts in excess of 70 percent of eligible voters. These reported high turnouts occur throughout every area of Micronesia. Responses to questions on the political attitude survey conducted in the course of this study bear out these reports.

Respondents were asked to indicate the approximate frequency with which they had voted in the elections since they first became eligible to vote, on a range of responses from "all" to "none." The distribution of their responses, by number and percentage, are shown in table 11.

Table 11

Distribution of Responses (Numbers and Percentages) to Question Related to Respondents Frequency of Voting in Elections since First Becoming Eligible to Vote on Political Attitude Survey Conducted in Northern Mariana Islands, Yap and Truk, 1977 and 1978

	Elections Voted In:					
Distribution of Responses	All	More Than Half	Half	Less Than Half	None	Total
Numbers	154	49	12	26	12	253*
Percentages	60.9	19.4	4.7	10.3	4.7	100.0

*Excludes respondents too young to have voted in prior elections.

If the voters actually vote in these proportions in any given election, the turnout will be about 75 percent of eligible voters, at a minimum.

These rough percentages hold rather consistently across every subgroup in the population surveyed. For example, the percentages of those who reported they voted in either "all" or "most" elections, taken together, by ethnic group, are arrayed in table 12.

The percentage of these two categories for the entire sample was 80.2, or 203 out of a total of 253 eligible voters.

It is interesting to note that the outer islands of Ulithi and Woleai, whose residents are the least acculturated, who have the least formal education, and who include the highest percentage of non-English speakers, have the highest rate of participation in the elections.

It is also interesting that, while there is a statistically significant relationship between the respondents' level of education and their rate of participation in elections, the relationship is an inverse relationship. In general, the higher the level of education, the lower the rate of participation. Table 13 shows the distribution of responses among those in the various categories of voting frequency by the highest grade of formal schooling completed, as reported by the respondents.

There is a positive correlation between the ages of respondents and their voting frequency, as shown in table 14. Actually, age and education are not independent variables, for there is a very strong inverse relationship between age and education, for reasons explained in chapter two. Thus, the younger a person, the more likely he is to have been exposed to an essentially American, English-language oriented education from early childhood.

Respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they habitually participate in other ways in the political process, such as

Table 12

Distribution of Responses (Numbers and Percentages) to Question Related to Frequency of Voting, Which Indicated that Respondents Had Voted Either in All or Most Elections in Which They Were Eligble to Vote, by Ethnic Group, in Political Attitudes Survey in Northern Mariana Islands, Yap and Truk, 1977 and 1978

Distribution of Responses	Number Reported Voting in All or Most Elections						
	Chamorro	Carolinian	Yapese	Ulithian	Woleaian	Trukese	Other*
Numbers	42	14	25	17	17	84	4
Percentages	82.4	87.5	75.8	89.5	89.5	79.2	40.0

*Other includes Micronesians from other districts working in Northern Mariana Islands, Truk, and Yap.

Table 13

Distribution of Responses to the Question Related to Frequency of Voting in Elections in Which Respondents Were Eligible to Vote by Their Reported Highest Level of Attained Education in Political Attitude Survey in Northern Mariana Islands, Yap and Truk in 1977 and 1978

Elections Voted in	Highest Grade Completed in School						
	0-6	7-9	10-11	12	13-15	16+	Total
None	1	1	0	5	4	1	12
Less than 1/2	4	5	0	6	7	4	26
1/2	1	0	0	4	3	4	12
More than 1/2	9	5	3	17	8	7	49
All	59	24	11	34	21	5	154
Total	74	35	14	66	43	21	253

Excludes respondents too young to have voted in prior elections.

$X^2 = 44.56$ df = 20 P >.001

Table 14

Distribution of Responses to the Question Related to Frequency of Voting in Elections in Which Respondents Were Eligible to Vote by Their Age Ranges, as Reported in the Political Attitude Survey in the Northern Mariana Islands, Yap and Truk, 1977 and 1978

Elections Voted In	Ages, Grouped into Age Ranges						
	15-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61+	Total
None	3	7	1	0	0	1	12
Less than 1/2	1	14	6	3	0	2	26
1/2	0	7	5	0	0	0	12
More than 1/2	0	22	16	7	3	1	49
All	7	54	40	25	19	9	154
Total	11	104	68	35	22	13	253

Excludes respondents too young to have voted in prior elections.

$X^2 = 35.44$ df = 20 P >.01

attendance at campaign meetings, reading the newspaper, and listening to presentations on government and politics on the radio or television. No relationship was apparent from the distribution of responses between frequency of voting and frequency of listening to political material on the radio. The relationship appears to be a random one. It may be that people on islands whose daily contact with the outside is by radio tend to listen to whatever comes over the airways. Radio is the only information medium in which the bulk of information transmitted is in the local language.

Both the extent to which respondents read political news in their newspapers and the frequency with which they attend political campaign meetings were found to be positively correlated with their frequency of voting. In both cases, the association was not strong but was statistically significant at the .01 level (table 15).

The relationship between the frequency of voting and the frequency of engaging in these two other activities is somewhat curvilinear, particularly with respect to the relationship between newspaper reading and voting frequency. The highest percentage of regular voters, as reported on the survey, were those who reported that they never read the newspaper. The next highest in frequency of voting were those who reported that they read the newspaper whenever possible. This curvilinear relationship is apparent from the distribution of responses illustrated in table 15.

Newspaper reading, of course, depends on language capability. A sizable proportion of the population cannot read, regardless of their interest or lack of interest in the subject matter of politics. The high voting rate among those who reported that they never read the

Table 15

Distribution of Responses (Numbers and Percentages) to the Question Related to Frequency of Voting Which Indicated Respondents Had Voted in All or Most Elections in Which They Were Eligible to Vote by Frequency of Attendance at Political Meetings and Frequency of Reading of Newspapers, Political Attitude Survey in Northern Mariana Islands, Yap and Truk in 1977 and 1978

	Frequency of Activity				
Activity	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Whenever Possible
Attendance at Meetings					
Number	56	47	26	34	34
Percentage	77.7	73.4	78.8	82.9	94.4
N = 246	N = 72	64	33	41	36
		$X^2 = 31.90$	df = 16	P<.01	
Newspaper Reading					
Number	57	28	33	60	18
Percentage	90.5	62.2	75.0	71.4	78.3
N = 245	N = 63	45	44	70	23
		$X^2 = 39.16$	df = 16	P<.001	

Excludes those not eligible to vote in past elections and those who failed to respond to the questions.

newspaper would likely be accounted for by outer islanders, whose high participation in elections has already been noted. If it can be assumed that, among those who can read, the reading habit correlates with frequency of voting, the curvilinear effect can be accounted for.

Attendance at campaign meetings is not an activity that all Micronesians can participate in. Such meetings are commonplace in the Northern Mariana Islands. They have also been introduced in Truk. They do not exist, in the same form, in Yap or the outer islands of Yap, where meetings that occur in the course of a campaign are not open to all.

Perhaps a better measure of interest or involvement in politics is the extent to which a person discusses government and politics with his family, friends, and associates. It is logical to assume that any subject that assumes some importance in a person's consciousness would tend to enter into his daily conversation with intimates to some extent. Respondents to the political attitude survey in Yap and Truk were asked about the extent to which they discuss politics with their intimates.

It is unfortunate that this question was not included in the survey of the Northern Mariana Islands, where the people are more subjected to political stimuli. One would expect that they would be more inclined to spend time discussing politics, but such assumptions need empirical verification.

The question on the political attitude survey for Yap and Truk asked respondents to indicate the extent to which they engaged in political discussion with family, friends, and associates on a scale of responses from "never" to "whenever possible." The tabulation of their responses by ethnic group and by sex is contained in table 16.

Table 16

Distribution of Responses (Numbers and Percentages) of Yapese, Ulithians and Trukese; Men, Women and Total to the Question Related to the Frequency of Their Participation in Political Discussion on the Political Attitude Survey of 1977 and 1978

	Frequency of Political Discussion					
Group	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Whenever Possible	Total
Yapese						
Number	11	9	7	14	6	47
Percentages	23.4	19.9	14.9	29.8	12.8	100.0
Woleaian						
Number	11	0	8	2	1	22
Percentages	50.0	0.0	36.4	9.1	4.5	100.0
Ulithian						
Number	10	4	4	1	2	21
Percentages	47.6	19.0	19.0	4.8	9.5	100.0
Trukese						
Number	20	17	45	14	17	113
Percentages	17.7	15.0	39.8	12.4	15.0	99.9
Totals	52	30	64	31	26	203
Percentages	25.6	14.8	31.5	15.3	12.8	100.0
Males						
Number	25	16	40	22	22	125
Percentages	20.0	12.8	32.0	17.6	17.6	100.0
Females						
Number	27	14	24	9	4	78
Percentages	34.6	17.9	30.8	11.5	5.1	99.9

This table shows clearly that the outer islanders of Yap, who have the highest rate of voting frequency, are little inclined to discuss politics. In one sense, it is not surprising that Micronesian women are less given to talking about politics than Micronesian men. Political activity is perceived as a man's function in both the traditional and the contemporary Micronesians societies. This feeling is particularly strong in Yap and its outer islands. Yet women vote in almost the same frequency as men. Clearly, this form of political activity has very little relationship to voting behavior.

Why is there so little relationship between voting behavior and various other forms of political activity in these Micronesian islands? Why is there a negative correlation between level of education and voting frequency? Why do those segments of the population which are least acculturated, least touched by government activity, and least exposed to political stimuli have the highest rate of participation in elections?

The apparent answer to these questions lies in the fact that the act of voting has a meaning in Micronesia that is unrelated to its meaning in American culture. To the Micronesians, voting is an act of loyalty, an expression of group solidarity.

There is a simple and obvious explanation of the finding that the educated young have a lower rate of participation in elections than do their less educated elders. The educated are employed and, therefore, residing away from their home islands in a much higher proportion than the less educated. There is a provision for absentee voting but this takes considerably more effort and initiative than voting at home. The candidates usually do not bother to solicit absentee votes. Several

Micronesians occupying top jobs in the administration on Saipan stated that they had never voted since moving to Saipan. They do not feel pressured by claims of loyalty when they are not among their own people.

While this fact may explain the differences in voting rates between the young and the old, the educated and the uneducated, it does not explain the generally high rate of participation in elections among all groups--without respect to age, education, social standing, or ethnic groups. The explanation of this phenomenon has to go to the heart of the meaning of the act of voting.

Micronesians do not vote for candidate A over candidate B because they perceive that their lives will be differently affected by the election of one candidate or the other (unless, of course, one candidate is a member of the family, lineage, or village). They do not, in other words, perceive that the course that the government takes--its policies, programs, and activities--will be altered in any significant way by the selection of one candidate or the other. They are not even appealed to in these terms.

This does not mean that they are unaware of government. They are very much aware of government as a source of education, public health, police protection, disaster relief, and other benefits. They are also aware that government activity may be intrusive and a source of conflict, as in cases of land acquisition. They do feel that their representatives are there to help them in any way that they can: to see that they get their share of jobs, scholarships, public works projects, and other benefits. The closer their relationship to the representative, the more they would expect his intervention on their behalf, when needed. On the

other hand, they do not see their selection of a representative as having any impact of a major, programmatic character on the course of government.

What the voters do perceive is that they are engaged in a contest in which something of value is at stake. An elective office is a job, an income, a status which is going to be awarded to someone. Ideally, they would like to see it awarded to one of their own: a kinsman or a member of their village, district, or island community. This is not always true. Where a community is divided by intense rivalries, they may actually prefer an outsider to a member of a rival faction of their community. Thus, when Congressman Haglelgam from Woleai ran against John Rugulimar from Ulithi for the outer islands seat, he received a share of the vote from Ulithi, while his opponent received a share of the Woleai vote.

Such circumstances apart, Micronesians prefer to see elective office go to one of their own people. This is as true of Saipan, with its political party system, as it is of Truk, Yap, and the outer islands. All candidates and office holders interviewed agreed on this point. In discussing their electoral prospects, candidates will invariably stress two things. One is their family and clan connections. The other is their personal qualifications for office. On Truk, they speak of the clan--one's own and one's father's, also one's wife's clan. The clan is the all inclusive kin group, encompassing both close and distant relatives. In the Northern Mariana Islands, it is one's extended family (with both sides equally important) and one's wife's family.

Where there is a substantial ethnic minority, as on Saipan, loyalty to the ethnic group becomes important. In certain predominantly

Carolinian districts, no non-Carolinian could defeat a Carolinian candidate. Conversely, no Carolinian has been elected to office except from a constituency in which Carolinians are a large proportion of the population, if not a clear majority. Herman R. Guerrero, a popular half Carolinian, half Chamorro, did win the islandwide office of Senator from Saipan. However, his brother Pedro R. Guerrero, running for a House seat in the same election from an overwhelmingly Carolinian district, was defeated when the United Carolinian Association made an issue of full bloodedness.

If these natural affiliations of candidates are not the sole basis of election, they are certainly the single most important factor. If a clan, a village, or a district has no candidate who has a natural claim on their loyalty, they may feel some obligation to support one who asks for their support, particularly if he has been introduced by a high ranking insider and if his demeanor reflects traditional norms of modesty, deference, dignity, and decorum.

In the case of Yap and the outer islands of Yap, loyalty to the chief will induce the voters to support a candidate who has his endorsement as long as there is no other candidate who has a natural claim on their loyalty.

Although loyalty to one's own group is the primary consideration, the people of Micronesia recognize that an elective position requires a certain level of education, experience, and English language capability. As noted previously, this is particularly true of the Congress, a territorywide legislature which functions in English. Although members of the commonwealth and state legislatures can function

in their own languages, bills, legislative reports, and records are in English. Members need to understand both the terminology and the conceptual basis of the legislative and administrative processes if they are to function effectively.

The kind of qualification recognized by the people varies with the distance of the office (in both a physical and psychological sense) from the local community. They tend to elect college graduates to the Congress, people who are high in traditional status as magistrates and a mixture of these two types to the state legislature. The trend is toward more college graduates in the state legislatures. This is particularly true in the Northern Mariana Islands. It is somewhat true in Yap and Truk. It is not true of the outer islands of Yap.

The Electoral System

All island groups in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands operate under essentially the same formal electoral regulatory system. Until the political fragmentation of the territory, which began in 1977, they literally worked under the same set of electoral regulations.

The system under which they operate provides for elections to be held by secret ballot, under a system of universal suffrage. It sets uniform qualifications for voters and for candidates for office. It sets up a system of registration by affidavit and establishes election commissions in each state and election boards in each electoral district to register voters and supervise the conduct of elections. It provides for the nomination of candidates by a specific number of registered voters or by political parties. It includes a method of voting by absentee ballot. It permits each candidate to have at least two poll watchers in each

polling place. It also contains a procedure for processing complaints of irregularities and requests for recounts, with a final appeal to the district courts.[5]

The provisions of the election laws should provide an effective control over the election process and insure that it accurately reflects the will of the people. All of what could be called the normal safeguards against error and fraud are incorporated into the law and the regulations. Unfortunately, to expect that the rules will be scrupulously followed is to disregard certain facts of life in Micronesia.

There has probably been very little, if any, deliberate fraud in the condcut of elections in Micronesia. On the other hand, it is very difficult to impose strict administrative discipline on governmental agencies in the territory.[6] This is true for several reasons.

First, the wide geographic dispersion of units of government among the more than one hundred inhabited islands of Micronesia would make supervision difficult even if there were no language problem.

In the second place in the many electoral districts in each state the laws are administered by people with varying degrees of English language fluency.

In the third place, there is a tendency in Micronesia to be casual about regulations, to regard them as technicalities or legalisms of no practical consequence. In its insistence on observance of regulations, Trust Territory Headquarters often neglects to emphasize their purposes. People in the district (or state) and municipal governments

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[5] 43 Trust Territory Code, pp. 469-502.

[6] This observation and the interpretations of events which follow are based, in part, on eight years of experience in the administration of government programs from Saipan.

tend to regard these purposes as exclusive to (and intelligible only to) Headquarters.

This attitude has often been shared by Americans working in the district governments of Micronesia. They have tended to criticize Headquarters for its "bureaucratic rigidity." At times this criticism is justified. Headquarters staff often act as though the entire territory could be administered by written directives from Saipan, with little or no personal contact or feedback.

In an early election to the Congress of Micronesia in 1965, the Mariana Islands reported turnouts ranging from 112 percent to 133 percent of registered voters in the three electoral districts, with an average of 124 percent.[7] There is no indication in the record that anyone even questioned why the total vote so substantially exceeded the number of registered voters.

In all likelihood, it was felt that most voters who failed to register did so out of lack of understanding. In the first elections to the Congress it was considered important to ensure that every adult citizen who wanted to vote could do so. This willingness to disregard "technicalities" may well have been justified when the process was still quite new to many of the people.

Even today, no one becomes too concerned about strict compliance with the regulations until there is a close and strongly contested election. Then charges of wholesale irregularities and even of fraud are raised.

One of the most recent and highly publicized cases occurred in Truk in 1974. Nick Bossy was certified as having defeated the incumbent,

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[7]Official elections returns from the Congress of Micronesia, Mariana Islands District, 1965, as certified by the District Administrator as Election Commissioner.

Andon Amaraich, for a seat in the Senate of the Congress of Micronesia. In a report by a member of the Senate staff, many irregularities were charged. The principal charge was that the procedure that all voters be registered by completing a sworn statement (affidavit), attesting to their identity and qualifications to vote, had not been followed.[8] The law is quite specific on the absolute necessity of following this procedure.

> No person shall be entitled to vote in any election for members of the Congress of Micronesia, or be listed upon any general district register, or upon any precinct list, who fails to register with the formalities and subject to the qualifications required by this title.[9]

In spite of this clear statement, few Trukese had ever been registered under this procedure since 1965. Instead, the magistrates in each municipality had prepared lists of qualified voters, from their own records or knowledge of the inhabitants. In most cases, new lists had not been obtained for 1974. Lists of previous years, with many obsolete names and omissions, were used.

Another complaint involved the votes of outer islanders temporarily residing in the district center island of Moen. Since these outer islanders are not in their own electoral districts, they should vote by absentee ballot, according to the law. Nonetheless, it had been the practice in Truk to permit these people to vote on election day, at a designated place, as though they were voting at home.

The outer islanders on Moen would probably have voted on election day as they had in the past, except for the action of one of the

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[8] Special Report by Fred Ramp, Staff Attorney, to the Chairmen of the Credentials Committees of both the House and Senate, Congress of Micronesia, January 13, 1975.

[9] 34 Trust Territory Code 272, p. 484.

candidates for the House of Representatives. On November 3, he pointed out to the District Administrator, who served as Election Commissioner, that the law requires that these absentee voters must return their ballots to the district election office no later than November 4, the day before the election.

From the vantage point of hindsight, it would have been wiser for the District Administrator, considering the lateness of the hour, to have permitted the outer island people to vote on election day, as in the past. He could have justified such a course on the basis of precedent. Apparently, he was more concerned with avoiding a question of illegality.

A decision was made to notify all outer island residents on Moen that they must vote by 8:00 p.m. on November 4. This announcement did not get on the air until 12:00 noon on November 4, the day the ballots were due. It was repeated three additional times during the day. According to the Ramp report, the number of persons who requested absentee ballots exceeded by more than 800 the number of such ballots cast. From this fact, it was inferred that a large number of these people had been denied their vote by the failure of the election commissioner to give them timely notice.

Since most of the concerned voters were Mortlockese and Senator Amaraich was from the Mortlocks, their failure to vote may possibly have altered the outcome of the election. However, this is all a matter of inference.

The same procedures which were the basis of the charges of irregularities had been used in Truk since 1965, without challenge. Trukese members of Congress, who were sitting in judgment on the dispute, had been elected under the same procedures. In fact, the procedure of permitting outer islanders to vote at a designated place in the district center on election day was a long established practice in Yap, as reported in 1977. There is nothing inherently wrong with that procedure.

It is simpler and as easily controlled as the legally established system of absentee voting. It is probably more conducive to a high participation rate among absentees. The problem is that it has never been sanctiond by law.

A number of complaints in the 1974 election arose out of the failure to enforce the legal requirement of registration by affidavit. Typically, a person appears before his election board to vote. The election board members know he is a resident of voting age. His name is not on the list. He did not register as required by law, but neither did any of the voters whose names do appear on the list. It does not seem reasonable to deny the vote to this person who is no more in violation of the law than any other in the precinct. He is permitted to vote and signs his name in evidence.

The same circumstance arises in another precinct. In this case, the election board has been cautioned that no one is to be permitted to vote whose name does not appear on the list. Over his protest, the voter is denied the right to vote. The Congress staff member investigating the election reports these "glaring inconsistencies."

These examples go to the root of the problem. There is a tendency in Micronesia to ad lib procedures which seem, pragmatically, to meet a need, without reference to (or in ignorance of) the specific requirements of law. In an election, of course, it is particularly important that there be no uncertainty about who is entitled to vote. The 1974 election in Truk is but one example of a continuing problem. There is much irregularity but probably little or no fraud.

In the Mariana Islands, as in Truk, there have been periodic charges of fraud and irregularities in elections. In 1974, members of

the Popular Party staged a march around the headquarters building of the Trust Territory government and burned a copy of the Trust Territory code. In the election of that year, the Territorial Party had won three out of four contested seats, a complete reversal of the results of the previous elections. Popular Party members charged, among other complaints, that hundreds of persons from other districts were permitted to vote without being legally registered.[10]

The real grievance of the members of the Popular Party was against an election law that permitted people from other districts to register and vote after only three months of residence in the Mariana Islands. In the eyes of the American controlled Trust Territory government, there was then but one common Trust Territory citizenship. The Chamorros of the Mariana Islands felt no sense of common citizenship with other Micronesians. In the light of their separatist goals, there was some justification for their feeling that participation by government employees from other districts in Mariana Islands elections constituted "interference" in their affairs.

In general, the election laws appear to be rather well administered in the Northern Mariana Islands. Most electoral controversy in the Mariana Islands has centered on the process by which political candidates are nominated by the parties. This process is not regulated by law.

The procedures of both parties provide for nominations to be made by a body known as the central committee, in a party convention. It consists of elective office holders, party officers, and the precinct

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[10]Pacific Daily News, November 12, 1974.

chairmen from each electoral district.[11] In 1977, there were many expressions of dissatisfaction with the proceedings of both parties' conventions but particularly with that of the Democratic Party. In both cases, there were ad libbed departures from established rules.

Shortly before the convention, the Territorial Party decided to open the process of nominating candidates to all persons who wished to participate. The Democratic Party leadership decided to use proxy voting on behalf of absent members. The leaders of both parties claim that all candidates agreed in advance to the new departures from established methods. Those who later broke away from the Democratic Party pointed out that the party had a new constitution. This constitution authorized neither the use of proxy votes nor other procedures followed by the convention.

There were other charges with respect to the Democratic convention. One charge was that a number of names were unaccountably dropped from the central committee rolls and replaced with the names of supporters of Dr. Carlos Camacho, the eventual nominee. The Democratic leaders responded that a compromise was reached before the voting in which it was agreed that all persons whose names were in dispute would be allowed to vote.

As a result of the controversies surrounding the Democratic convention, an attempt was made to form a third party consisting of dissidents from both established parties. The third party movement was led by followers of former Senator Olympio T. Borja, who was Camacho's principal opponent for the Democratic nomination for governor. Instead, an arrangement was negotiated in which Borja was offered, and accepted, the

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[11] Article V, Constitution of the Mariana District Propular Party, Filed with Clerk of Courts, Northern Mariana Islands, December 28, 1976.

Territorial Party nomination for lt. governor by the gubernatorial candidate, Jose C. Tenorio (Joe Ten).

As with the election process itself, a free wheeling attitude towards the rules for nominating candidates in party conventions makes it impossible to say, unambiguously, who is, or is not, qualified to participate. This inevitably raises the suspicion that the process is being manipulated by those in charge. It certainly creates the opportunity for manipulation.

Critics, such as Senator Roman Tmetuchl of Palau, have argued that the governmental system of the Trust Territory, patterned after that of the United States, is much too complex to meet the needs of the small island communities of Micronesia. In a minority report, filed as a member of the Credential Committee, Senator Tmetuchl argued successfully for seating Nick Bossy as the new senator from Truk. In his report, he stated:

> The ultimate blame should not lie on the shoulders of these administrative personnel whom we have seen struggling helplessly under a load of laws and regulations imposed from above, but not comprehensible to many of our people in the districts of Micronesia; it should lie on the Congress of Micronesia for not having developed an election procedure understandable to our people.[12]

There is much truth in what Senator Tmetuchl has said, but the problem goes deeper than his statement indicates. The people of Micronesia, whose languages have only very recently been reduced to writing, are not yet accustomed to having their actions guided by the written word. According to the Credentials Committee report, the registrar and chairman of the board of elections did not even know of the existence of many of the

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[12]Minority Report, Senate Special Committee on Credentials, Senate Journal--16th Day, Tuesday, January 28, 1975, p. 61.

requirements of the law.[13] These particular individuals had all of the rules on file and were perfectly capable of reading and understanding them. To insure compliance in the many electoral districts, where English capability is more variable and uncertain, would require frequent personal contact. The local officials would be inclined to follow, literally and scrupulously, any instructions they received by word of mouth.

In the Northern Mariana Islands, the people are more in tune with the system of administration by the written word. This may be abetted, in the case of the electoral process, by the openly competitive nature of their political system and the role of the parties as mobilizers of opinion. While the 1977 election campaign was still in process, legally trained partisans were publicizing violations of the new party constitution, citing chapter and verse. To ensure fair and free elections in the Northern Mariana Islands, it will be necessary to have it clearly established that the party nominating process must be conducted under unambiguous rules and that the parties are legally bound by their own rules.

The Explanation of Election Results

In the preceding pages, it was stated that no clear distinctions can be drawn between the two parties in the Northern Mariana Islands on the basis of public policy issues, programs, or ideologies. If this is true today, it has not always been so. The two parties had their origins in a sharp division among the people over the question of the future political status of the Mariana Islands.

The Popular Party consisted originally of the majority of the dominant Chamorro population, who favored political separation from the

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[13] Report of Committee on Credentials, Special Committee Report no. 6-3, January 13, 1975, p. 527.

other islands of the Trust Territory and political union with Guam. This majority group favored union with Guam not only because of strong ties of blood and language but, more importantly, as the quickest and simplest way to secure permanent political association with the United States and United States citizenship.

The Territorial Party was originally a coalition of groups who, for various reasons, opposed union with Guam. This coalition included the Carolinians, Chamorro businessmen, the dominant Chamorro faction on Rota, and the generally more conservative element in the population.

A review of voting by electoral district, as far back as records are available, clearly shows that some districts are consistently Popular (or Democratic), some are consistently Territorial, and some are swing districts that can go either way.

Based on the average vote received by the two parties, Mariana Islands-wide, over the period of 1965 to 1977, one would have to conclude that they are fairly even in strength. It could not be said that either party is definitely the majority party.

It does seem evident, however, that the Territorial Party has a larger number of hard core supporters. The overwhelmingly Carolinian districts of San Jose village and district four of Chalan Kanoa village and the Chamorro population of Rota have always given the Territorial Party large majorities. A vote of 60 percent would be a very poor showing for the Territorial Party in any of these three electoral districts. They represent the "solid south" of the Territorial Party. They are all sizable districts.

The only districts that have supported the Popular or Democratic Party with similar consistency are the villages of San Vicente and San

Roque. These are the two smallest villages on Saipan. There are three districts in Chalan Kanoa that are traditionally Democratic and they are sizable districts. However, their support of the Democratic Party is somewhat soft. With the right candidate, the Territorials can and have won these districts.

The electoral districts of Tanapag, Garapan, Susupe, San Antonio, and Tinian have tended to shift between the two parties. All of these have, for the Mariana Islands, fairly substantial populations but Garapan and San Antonio are the largest. Garapan, which is very much of a swing district, is now the largest and fastest growing district in the islands. It was a city of thousands under the Japanese. It was completely leveled during World War II with the population resettled in Chalan Kanoa. In 1965, it did not contain enough inhabitants to be recognized as an electoral district. Now it is the largest district. As a new housing area, it represents "suburbia" to the Saipanese. It includes Chamorros, Carolinians, and permanent residents from the other parts of Micronesia, as well as permanent resident non-Micronesians.

San Antonio, the other large village that tends to shift between the parties, is also ethnically diverse. In addition to a number of old Chamorro families, it contains a considerable number of residents from other islands of Micronesia. Many of these are long time residents and voters.

There have been several elections in which there was a pendulum swing from one party to the other. The Territorials would make a clean sweep, or nearly so, of offices in one election and the Popular Party candidates would make a clean sweep in the next election.

Figures 7a to 8e illustrate that these swings between the parties tend to be unidirectional; that is, most, if not all, districts and segments of the population tend to shift in the same direction at the same time. The trends in the ethnically mixed districts of Susupe, garapan, and San Antonio faithfully follow the curve for the Northern Mariana Islands, as a whole, to a striking degree.

However, it is clear that solidly Democratic, predominantly Chamorro, San Roque village also reflects the Mariana Islands-wide curve with equal fidelity. Even though it retains at least a 75 percent Democratic majority, it moves toward the Territorial Party or away from it, in keeping with the trend throughout the Mariana Islands.

The villages of Tanapag, San Jose, and San Vicente, on the other hand, do not regularly and closely follow the overall Northern Mariana Islands trend. This can be seen from a study of figures 8a, 8b, and 8c, respectively. However, all of these did reflect the general shift to the Territorial Party that occurred between 1972 and 1974.

The village of Tanapag is unusual in one respect. It is one which has been populated by both Chamorros and Carolinians for many generations. The two ethnic groups are closer in Tanapag than they are elsewhere and have intermarried to some extent.

San Jose village is one of the larger villages and it is solidly Carolinian. It is also solidly and (until 1974) increasingly Territorial. Figure 8b clearly supports the previous statement that a 60 percent vote would be a poor showing for the Territorials in San Jose.

When one sees the sudden and complete reversals of fortune of the parties at the polls, one naturally seeks an explanation in some major

Figure 7

Percentage of the Total Vote Received by the Territorial Party in Elections to the Congress of Micronesia, District and Municipal Legislatures in the Selected Districts

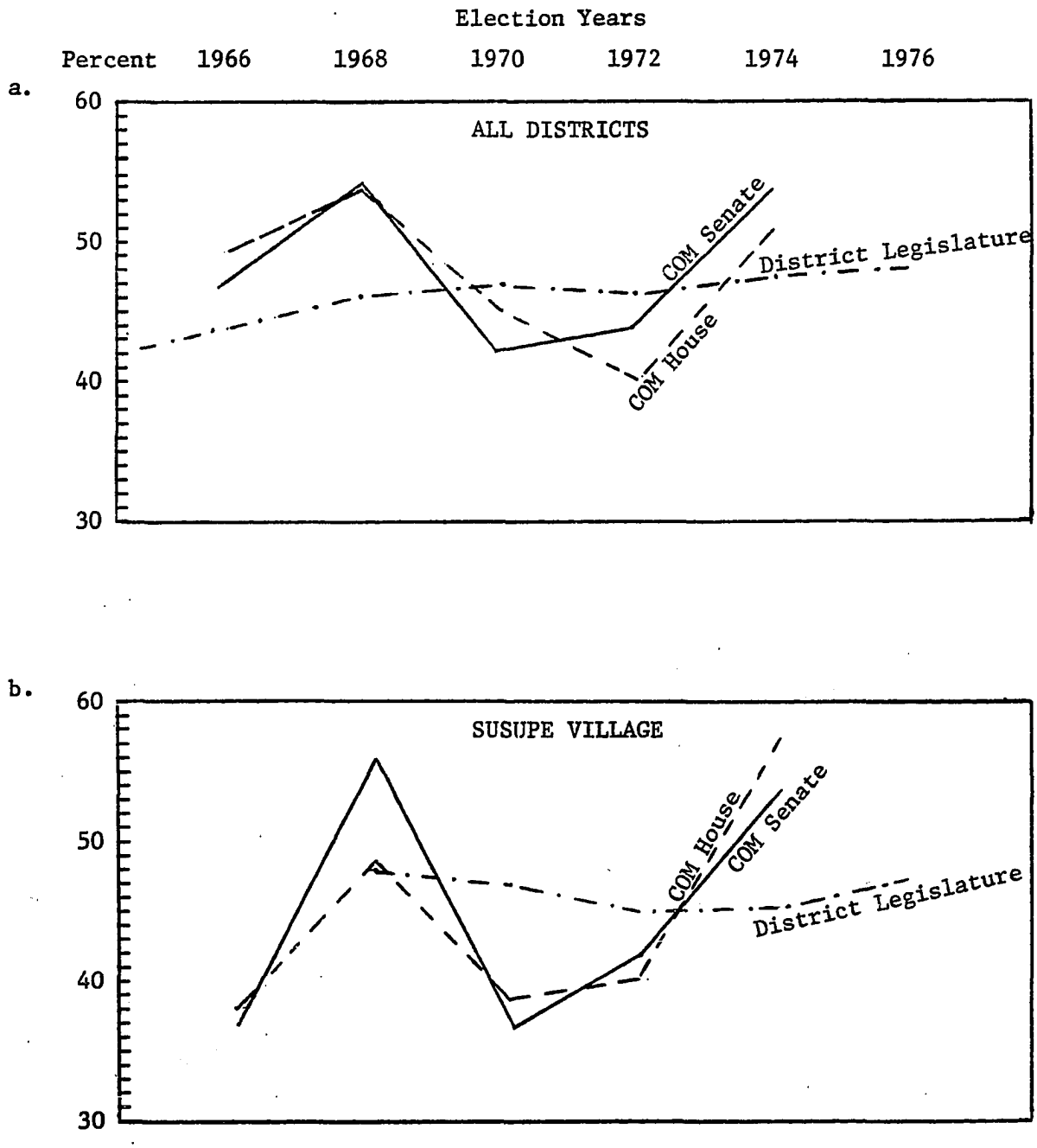
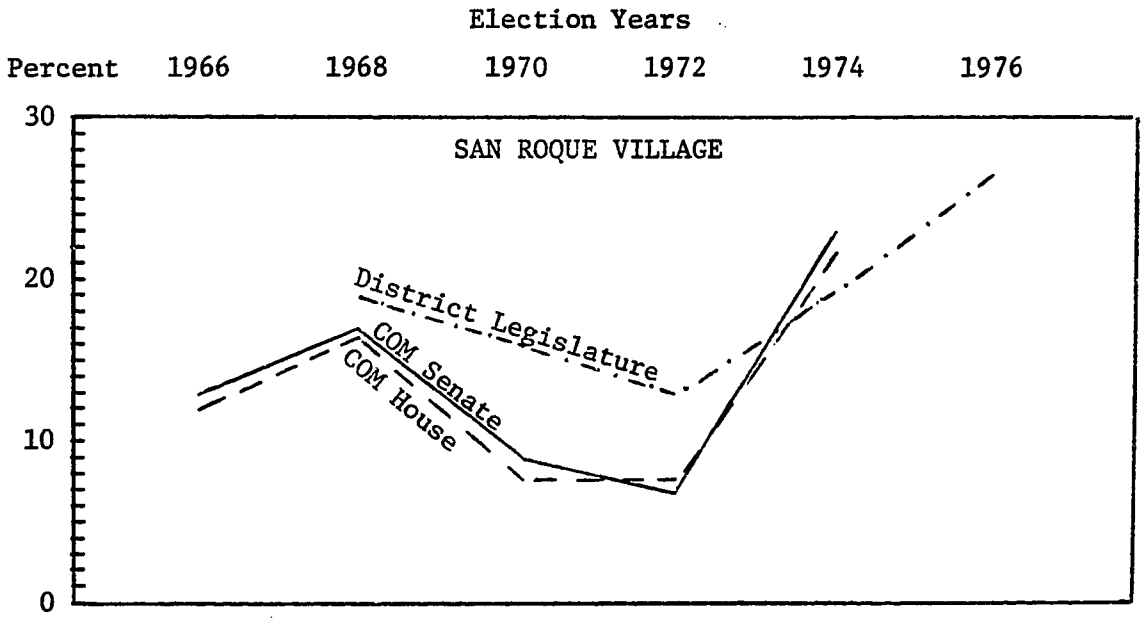


Figure 7, continued

c.



d.

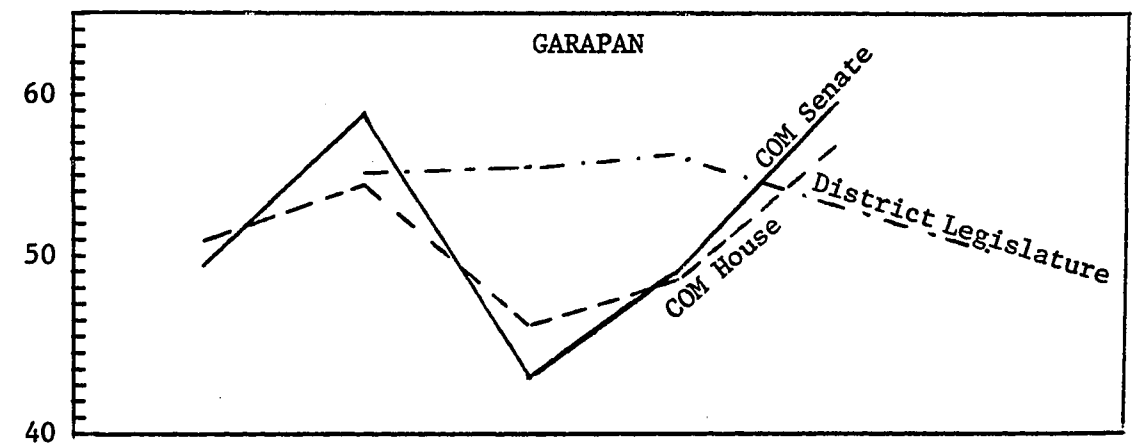
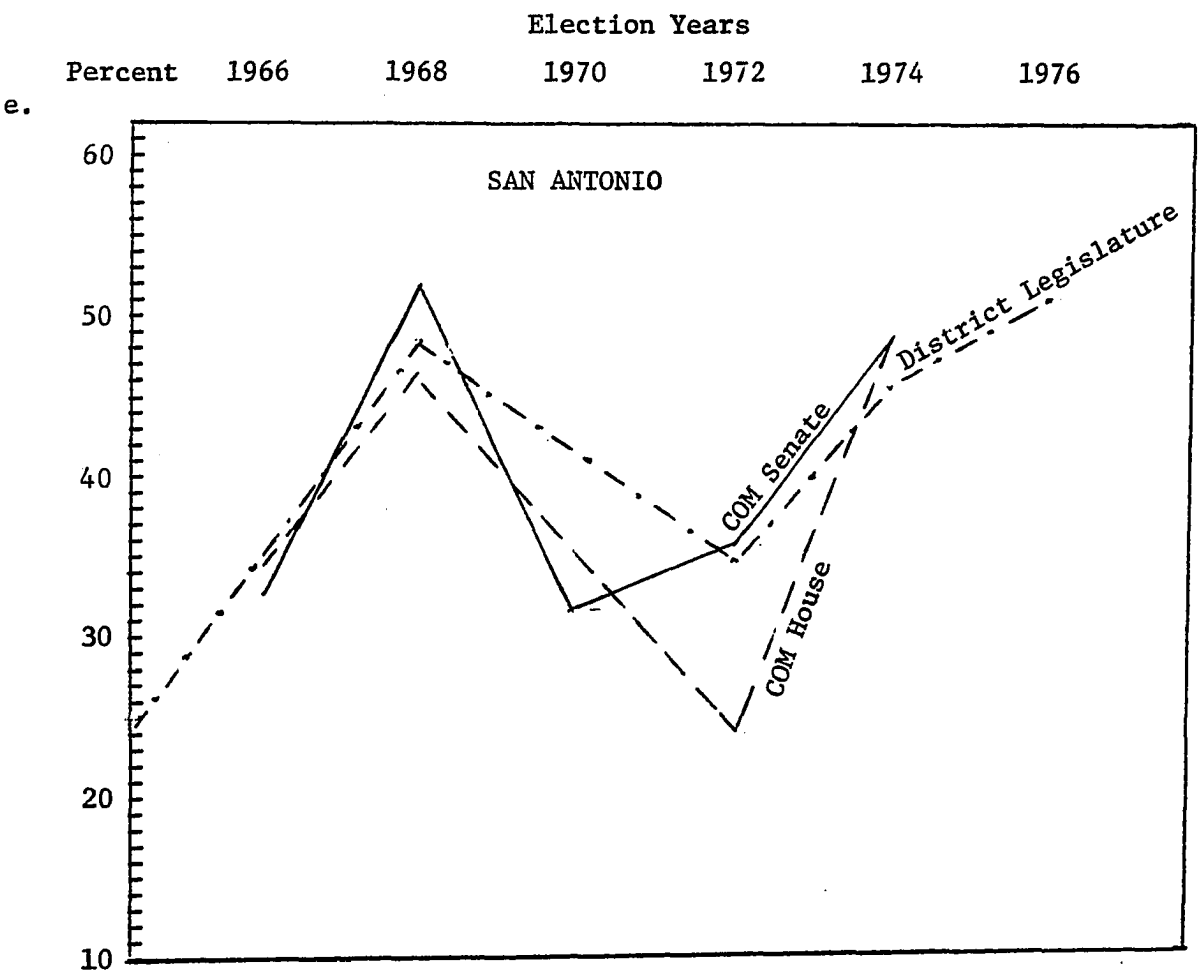


Figure 7, continued

e.



SOURCE: Tallies of election returns by district and total by Mariana Islands Board of Elections for each election year shown.

Figure 8

Percentage of the Total Vote Received by the Territorial Party in Elections to the Congress of Micronesia, District and Municipal Legislatures in the Selected Districts

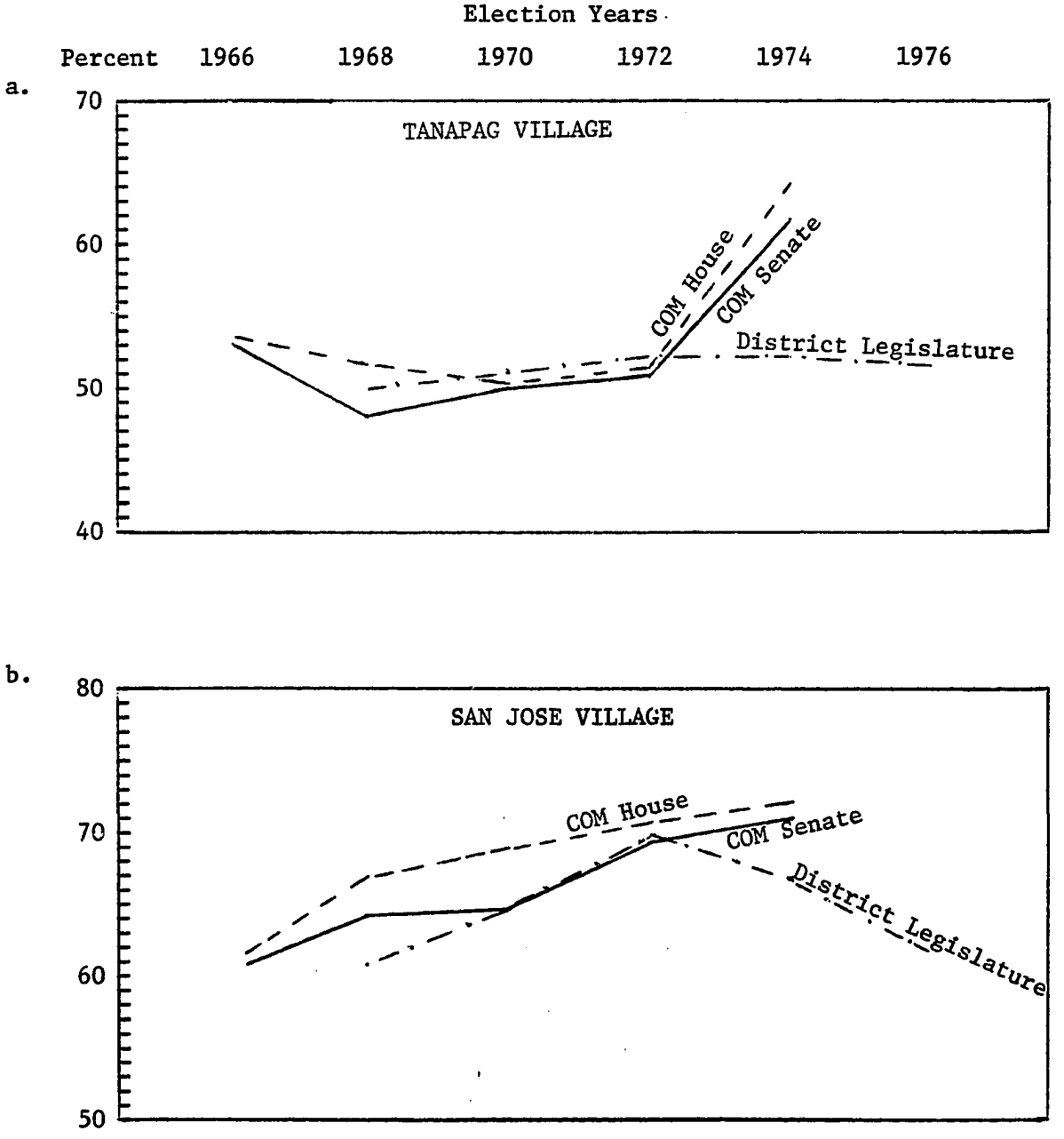
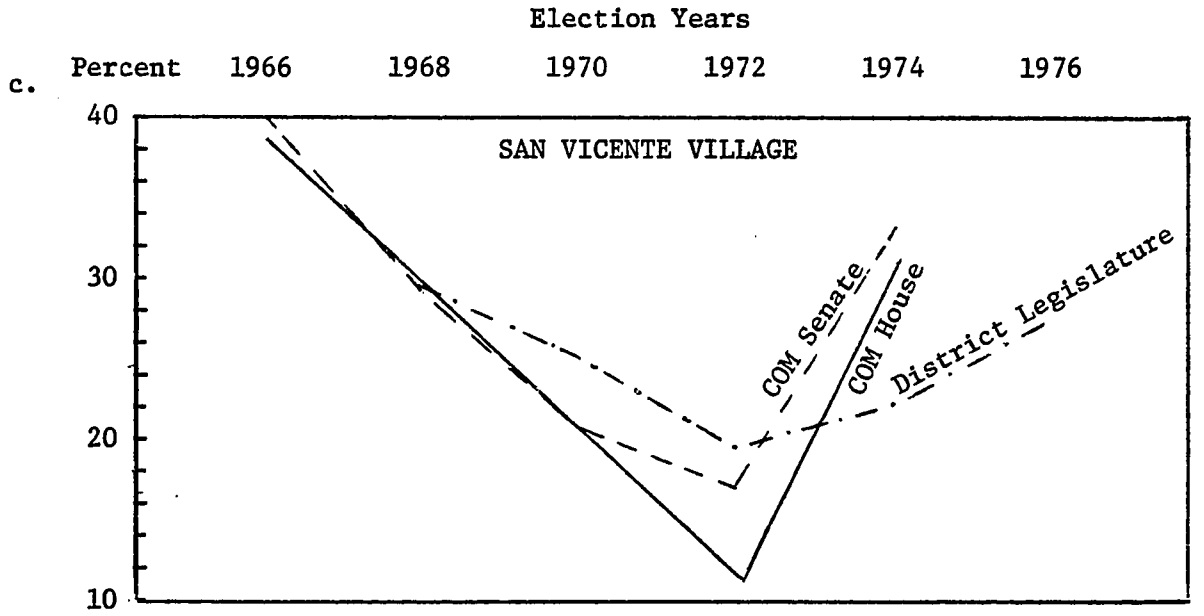


Figure 8, continued



SOURCE: Tallies of election returns by district and total by Mariana Islands Board of Elections for each election year shown.

policy issue or action which disillustioned the voters with the party in power. No informant in either party could identify any such singular cause for these shifts in voter support. The only explanation they could offer for these reversals in party fortunes was the particular slates of candidates the two parties fielded in each election. As prosaic as it sounds, this appears to be the correct explanation.

A review of the election returns, over the years, shows that certain candidates will win in a given district and certain candidates will win in a Mariana Islands-wide election. A strong candidate loses when a stronger candidate comes along. His strength may be seen when, in losing, he leads his party ticket.

The truth of these generalizations can only be demonstrated by examples. In 1968, the Territorial Party won the contested Senate seat with about 55 percent of the vote. In 1972, the Democratic Party won with about 56 percent. However, in both cases the winning candidate was Olympio T. Borja, who had switched parties as a result of differences over the status issue. In both instances, he received practically the same percentage of the vote.

One of the most consistent vote getters for the Democratic Party is Edward D.L.G. Pangelinan. He explains his success by the fact that he belongs to both the Guerrero and the Pangelinan families, two of the largest in the commonwealth, and by the fact that he is a qualified attorney. The people of the Northern Mariana Islands attach great value to that qualification. He actually lost the election to the Senate in 1974, a fact that he attributes to his wife's critical illness, which prevented him from active campaigning. He may be correct, but he surely would not have lost

had he not been running against another candidate with an important family name and impressive educational qualifications, Pedro Agulto Tenorio.

A review of the voting trends in figures 7a to 8c might appear to support the view that, in some areas at least, party loyalty is an important factor. However, it is quite likely that what appears to be party loyalty is actually family and ethnic loyalty. This has been somewhat tested in recent years with the growing tendency for candidates to switch parties. In such cases, the support seems to follow the candidate, not the party. At the time of the survey, it was felt that the stronghold of the Territorial Party on the Carolinian vote would fade if the Democratic Party were to run some prominent Carolinians for office. This theory was tested in 1979, when Representative Felicidad Ogomura, with the support of other Carolinians, switched to the Democratic Party. She won reelection with almost exactly the same vote total she had received in the previous election.

Candidate choice is the critical element that tips the balance between the parties. Where ethnicity is a factor, it is most important. Otherwise, family is the most important consideration. This is particularly true in the electoral district where the candidate resides. If his family is the largest and most prestigious in the district he will win. A very large family can mean a lot in determining the results of a Mariana Islands-wide contest.

Another important element is the candidate's formal qualifications. Formal education is extremely important to the Saipanses. Other things being equal, they will vote for the college graduate over the non-college candidate. Qualified attorneys make strong candidates as do those

with advanced degrees of any kind. In a commonwealth-wide election, where large numbers of voters have no strong personal tie to either candidate, the formal qualifications of the candidates can be decisive.

Electoral Politics in Yap

If one is asked by the Council of Magistrates in Yap or the Council of Chiefs in the outer islands of Yap to be a candidate for elective office, his election to the Congress would be assured. This does not usually happen, except for longtime incumbents. In most cases, different magistrates will support different candidates. However, in the case of seats in the district legislature, which will correspond with municipal boundaries, the support of one's own magistrate and council is both necessary and sufficient.

In the case of the electoral districts of the outer islands, the practice has been for the chiefs simply to select the nominee for the district legislature. The younger members from the outer islands indicated that they were simply told they were the candidates for the seats from their electoral districts. They did not seem to be particularly excited about being in the legislature. One legislator stated that he did not even know who had decided that he was going to be the candidate. He was told only that he was the nominee.

On the other hand, one outer island legislator is a chief in his own right. Another is a middle-aged member of the highest clan in Ulithi. In any case, in the outer islands, selection of candidates for the legislature is done by the elders and it is not competitive. It is one candidate per district.

Unfortunately, records of electoral results have not been as well preserved in Yap as in the Mariana Islands. Reports of the final results are readily available for all of the elections to the Congress of Micronesia. Few of the detailed tabulations by electoral district, that would make it possible to study the distribution of the vote, are still preserved. It is easy to see who won each election, by what margin, but it is not possible to tell from what groups or electoral districts he drew his vote.

Nonetheless, two facts are clear from the electoral reports available. First, it is clear that, with few exceptions, incumbents win reelection. The second obvious fact is that a very high percentage of candidates run unopposed.

During the period of a unified Micronesia, Yap had two seats in the House of Representatives as well as two Senate seats. Beginning in 1972, for three consecutive elections, only the House seat representing the outer islands was contested.

Table 17 shows the comparative number of contests that were opposed and not opposed in several elections which occurred, concurrently, in 1976. It also indicates the number of elections in this group in which incumbents were involved.

On the average, less than one election in five was contested. It is somewhat surprising to see that the magistrates' races were the most frequently contested. It is also surprising that the only incumbents that were defeated that year were magistrates. This may be an indication of factionalism in some of the municipalities. The more prominent magistrates, the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Yap Islands Council, were not contested.

Table 17

Numbers of Contested and Uncontested Elections Occurring in Yap District in the Year 1976, Where Incumbents Were Involved, Where Incumbents Were Not Involved, and the Number of Incumbent Losses

Election to	Contested Elections (I)	Contested Elections (No I)	Not Contested Elections (I)	Not Contested Elections (No I)	Incumbent Losses
Congress of Micronesia	1	0	2	0	0
Yap District Legislature					
Yap Seats	1	1	7	3	0
Outer Island Seats	2	0	6	0	0
Yap Islands Council (Magistrates)	3	1	5	0	2*
Mayor of Rull	0	0	1	0	0
Rull Council	0	0	1	15	0
Totals for All Elections	7	2	22	18	2

SOURCE: Official election returns, certified by Election Commissioner.

*One loss was to a write-in candidate.

The categories of "contested" and not contested" are a little misleading. In almost all elections, there were a number of write-in candidates, usually getting no more than one or two votes each. However, in two or three contests, a write-in candidate ran a good race and, in one case, a write-in candidate defeated an incumbent. In other cases, there was more than one listed candidate, where the vote of the runner-up was negligible. In such cases, the winning candidate was probably running with the endorsement of the local leaders.

It is difficult to imagine a situation in which the advantages of incumbency are so great as in Yap. A candidate cannot make campaign speeches, but a congressmen or legislator can make reports by radio to his constituents. Before each legislative session, he can meet with the Council of Chiefs or the Council of Magistrates and see what legislation they would like to see enacted. He can then introduce the legislation. After the session, he can report to them on what happened during the session. He can report on such matters on the local radio station in the vernacular. During sessions of the Congress of Micronesia, members are interviewed by reporters and tapes of these interviews are sent to all of the stations for broadcast.

A member who has been elected with broad support and who takes care to report before and after each session, who is attentive to the requests of the local leaders, and who shows them proper respect, can reinforce his position and insure his continued reelection. This characteristic of Yapese politics also helps to keep alive the influence of the traditional chiefs and magistrates. It is a symbiotic relationship. It is consistent with the tradition of deference to traditional authority and consensus decision making.

Critical Influences in Trukese Elections

Early in the survey of Truk, a knowledgeable Trukese in the district public affairs office was asked for his opinion on the probable outcome of the race for governor. His response was that Erhart Aten would win. His explanation of this prediction was entirely in terms of Erhart's family and clan connections in a number of the more populous islands; particularly in Moen, often called the highest clan in Truk. The prediction also took into account the various leaders who were known to be supporting Erhart.

There were those who believed that Koichi Sana might win. Except for the support that Sokicky Frtiz was expected to receive from the Satawan area, Koichi was expected to take almost all of the vote in the Mortlocks. In addition, there were many people in the Lagoon who had ties to the Mortlocks, particularly those on Moen, Uman, Fefan, and Dublon. Erhart also had some support on Fefan and Sokichy on Dublon. All Trukese observers agreed that the candidate who was best connected throughout the district would win. There seemed to be room for legitimate disagrement over which candidate that would be. There was a general agreement that Sokichy would run a poor third. In a sense, all were proven correct. Although Erhart won, it was quite close between him and Koichi. Sokichy did run a poor third.

If the popular wisdom is correct, that the best connected candidate will win, can a campaign make any difference? Actually, this generalization needs to be qualified somewhat. In all of the thirty-nine inhabited islands of Truk district, there must be some people who have no discernible tie of kinship or community to either candidate. It would

certainly help to have the endorsement of a prominent local resident. Even with such support, it would pay to conduct a personal courtship of the voters in such localities. When the division in terms of the natural support each candidate enjoys is close, it is reasonable to assume that the campaign can be the decisive factor.

There are other factors, besides kinship and community ties. Koichi Sana was the Truk hospital administrator for many years. For several years preceding the election he had been speaker of the Legislature. The office of Speaker was a full-time job. Erhart Aten had been in the administration for years--in community development, as District Administrator's Representative in the Mortlocks, and, more recently, as Deputy District Administrator. Sokichy Fritz had been a judge. In these positions, they must have acquired some followers, some debtors, and probably some enemies, as well. They have also created impressions among their associates, for good or ill, of their competence, dedication, and integrity. Such associations can even outweigh kinship for many people.

It is probably safe to say that the best connected candidate will win, when the imbalance of natural support is great. When it is fairly close, it is quite likely that other factors, such as candidate image, experience, qualifications, age, and the vigor of the campaign will tip the balance.

To the outsider, Erhart Aten might seem to project a more youthful, dynamic image. He is quite a bit younger than the other candidate. The insiders agree, however, that youthfulness is a disadvantage in Truk. The Micronesian concept that wisdom and maturity come with gray hair is still strong.

After all of these qualifications, it still remains that one's relationships are one's principal political capital. It is generally agreed that one's clan is the most important consideration, since a clan is the largest recognized kin group. Some clans are dispersed over many islands in Truk district. A Trukese will normally vote for a member of his clan in preference to a non-relative from his own village.

A corollary of this principle is that one cannot transfer his strength to a running mate. If all of the lt. governor candidates were outsiders to the people of Udot, Erhart might be able to persuade many of his followers to vote for Ngas Kansou. Such was not the case. Chutomu Nimwes and Hans Wiliander were both from the Faichuk area, while Ngas was from Moen. The result was that Erhart won the Faichuk vote (Tol excepted), while Hans and Chutomu split the vote for lt. governor. The Trukese agreed that each candidate would stand or fall on the basis of his own support, teaming would make no difference. The results bore out this opinion. Erhart Aten was elected governor, Hans Wiliander was elected lt. governor.

The Role of Traditional Leaders

How influential are the traditional chiefs in Truk politics? Will voters look to the traditional chiefs for guidance in deciding how to vote?

The general verdict of Trukese informants is that a traditional chief, as such, is not likely to influence large numbers of voters to favor a candidate. One Trukese congressman stated that if a chief has the support of the clan leaders, he can wield a lot of influence. Such support is a measure of his leadership qualities. Another informant put the case a little differently. He stated that in order for a chief to wield a lot

of political influence, two conditions must be met. He must be the head of a large clan and he must have considerable wealth. When these conditions exist, the chief is a very powerful influence.

This informant gave the example of Susumu Aizawa, magistrate of Tol. He is a traditional chief, as well as an elected magistrate. He is the head of a large clan. He is also a wealthy businessman, owner of a new supermarket on Moen, among other business interests. He endorsed Sokichy Fritz for governor and Chutomu Nimwes for lt. governor, both of whom are his brothers-in-law. It was taken for granted that these two candidates would get practically all of the votes from Tol, except for those of one village that does not accept Susumu's leadership. The leaders of that one village followed the rest of the Faichuk area leaders in endorsing Erhart.[14] However, knowing of Susumu's support of Sokichy and Chutomu, the other candidates did not campaign on Tol.

While a traditional chief does not necessarily have a lot of influence beyond his own clan, a clan or lineage head is likely to have great influence on the members of the clan or lineage. This does not mean that clan members will automatically follow the clan leaders' lead in voting. It depends on his qualities of leadership. If a candidate is a member of the clan, he will naturally get the votes of the clan members. On the other hand, clan members will not all necessarily vote for an outsider simply because the clan leader tells them to do so.

If all of the clan leaders on an island get together and endorse a candidate, the other members of that island community are likely to follow their lead. This happened on Fefan during the first election to the

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[14] According to one report, it had been agreed in advance that all Faichuk leaders would unite on a slate of candidates. Aizawa failed to meet with the others when he realized he would be outvoted.

Congress of Micronesia which occurred after Fefan was combined with the islands of the upper Mortlocks to form a new representative district, following a reapportionment.

In this case, the leaders felt a strong compulsion to unite on a candidate. By so doing, they could assure that a candidate from Fefan would win. It was easy for them to secure the support of their followers, by appealing to their sense of community and their sense of rivalry towards outsiders. If they failed to unite, they ran the risk of allowing the candidate from the Mortlocks to win. A candidate who attempted to file, after they had agreed on a choice, was told he would not get any support. However, when candidates were selected for a seat in the legislature from Fefan alone, it was impossible to agree on a common choice. Each clan supported its own candidate. There was no compulsion to unite. On the contrary, traditional loyalties created division, rather than unity.

The strong rivalry between the outer islands and the Truk Lagoon has often been noted. The Mortlockese have held a disproportionate share of the higher positions in the administration. This has been resented by the people of the Lagoon, particularly those of Moen. On the other hand, the Mortlockese have felt that they were discriminated against on Moen. However, as stated before, common clan membership overrides this regional rivalry. Lagoon voters will vote for Mortlockese of their own clan and vice versa.

Summary

The manner in which electoral campaigns are conducted in Yap and Truk clearly demonstrates traditional norms of modesty, decorum, deference for authority, and avoidance of open conflict or confrontation.

Some change, in this respect, is evident in Truk, where the process is becoming more openly competitive. The campaigns in the Northern Mariana Islands reflect none of this characteristically Micronesian orientation towards authority. They exhibit all of the familiar forms of self-advertisement found in American campaigns. As far as attacks on the opposition are concerned, electoral campaigns in the Northern Mariana Islands are even more unrestrained than is normally true in the United States.

In addition to differences of form, electoral campaigning has been transformed in substance in its transplantation to Micronesia. The act of voting is not perceived by the Micronesian voters as an expression of preference between alternative programs or public policies or as a judgment on the performance of the incumbent administration. It is perceived primarily as an act of loyalty to one's own group. An elective office is a valued status with a good income. An election is principally an intergroup competition to secure that prize and to exercise control over the center of power. Generally, the groups which compete in the electoral process have their origins in divisions that existed in the traditional society.

CHAPTER XI

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS

This chapter is concerned with the most essential problem which must be confronted in any comparative political analysis. The political system is the system by which decisions are made which authoritatively allocate valued things in a society. The crucial questions which a comparative study must address are who participates in this process, in what manner, and to what degree? What kind of value orientation legitimizes the distribution of authority and the basis on which benefits are allocated? How do the answers to these questions for each of the four subject subcultures reflect their cultural differences and relative stages of development?

To make this system comparison, it is necessary first to review the common constitutional framework by which roles are defined and authority is distributed. The political processes will be examined and compared to see how influence is exercised and by whom. Particular attention will be given to the question of how traditional orientations towards authority, attitudes, and behavioral norms influence the distribution. This involves the examination of the relationship between traditional and new elites.

If the goal of political development is the increasing ability of societies to shape their own human, physical, and cultural environments,

as Riggs maintains, how effective are these political systems, using this goal as the standard of evaluation?[1] Are they effective means of collective decision making in pursuit of common goals for the society concerned? This question will be dealt with in the context of the comparison of political processes.

The Structure of Government in 1977-1978

At the time of the survey in Micronesia, the islands were beginning their transition from the status of districts of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands to their present statuses of internally self-governing states. Although Truk was involved in the campaign that would result in the election of its first elective governor and the implementation of its new constitution, only the Northern Mariana Islands completed the transition during the period covered by the survey. Thus, for Yap and Truk, the governments that were actually observed were their governments as districts of the Trust Territory.

As described in chapter four, under the Trust Territory there were three levels of government. The local government--the municipality--was the only unit of government that could claim to have its roots in a traditional political community in Micronesia, although the municipalities often encompassed more than one traditional political community.

A municipality usually took in a small island or an atoll. In the Mariana Islands, Saipan, Tinian, and Rota were each classed as municipalities. In Truk, the islands of Moen, Tol, Dublon, and others in the

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[1] Fred W. Riggs, "The Context of Political Development," in Frontiers of Development Administration, ed. Fred W. Riggs (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1970), p. 74.

Truk Lagoon were each classed as municipalities, as were such atolls as Losap, Nomoluk, Satawan, etc. In the Yap Islands complex, on the other hand, the districts of Rull, Weloy, gagil, Gilman, etc. were each established as separate municipalities even though the island complex was smaller in both size and population than Saipan.

The Northern Mariana Islands, before they separated to become a commonwealth, were one of the six administrative districts of the Trust Territory, as were the islands of Truk and those of Yap and its outer islands. Above all was the central government, headquartered on Saipan.

The structure would properly be classified as unitary. The districts and municipalities were charted by and received their powers by delegation from the territorial government. The districts were, in fact, but geographic subdivisions of the territorial government. They were headed by a district administrator appointed by the High Commissioner of the Trust Territory, their funds were budgeted and allocated by the Trust Territory government, and they administered Trust Territory programs in accordance with regulations established by the High Commissioner's staff.

To be sure, there were district legislatures that could levy taxes and enact laws not in conflict with Trust Territory law. This authority was delegated and could be revoked by the High Commissioner. Acts of these legislatures could be vetoed by the District Administrator, with their only recourse an appeal to the High Commissioner. In any case, the possible scope of their legislative authority was limited by the fact that the central government provided all of the common services of government.

The district legislatures could appropriate district tax revenues, but a major part of these revenues were spent to pay their own operating

expenses. The legislators were paid only for the number of days the legislature was in session. The legislatures had full-time paid staff, however. In the Mariana Islands and Truk, the president, or speaker, was eventually made a full-time position.

The Mariana Islands district was the first to employ an attorney as legislative counsel. In other districts, this position was first filed by Peace Corps lawyers.

Legislators were mostly administration employees who took leaves of absence during legislative sessions. Given the shortage of educated persons, for many years this practice was almost a necessity if education is essential to effective performance in the legislative role. It often put these legislators in the anomolous position of interrogating their supervisors when they appeared as administration witnesses.

In addition to paying their own costs, the district legislatures also appropriated money to subsidize the operations of the municipal magistrates and councils. The council members, like the legislators, were part-time employees who were paid a modest daily salary, when the councils were in session. The job of magistrate was considered full time but the salary was quite modest.

Although government services were provided, for the most part, by the central government, the district legislatures did provide supplementary services or benefits out of their own revenues. One of the favorite programs funded by the district legislatures were scholarships for study outside of the territory. These supplemented the scholarships offered by the administration out of grant funds and those offered by the Congress of Micronesia out of its revenues.

Another major area of expenditure for the district legislatures was that of the small scale village public works projects. These involved such matters as village water systems, sea walls, docks, and road improvements.

The municipalities were empowered to enact ordinances for their own localities, as long as they were not in conflict with district or territorial laws. Obviously, they could only deal with matters of very limited scope since the areas preempted by these higher authorities were so comprehensive. The municipal magistrates and councils actually functioned less in the manner of government than as interest groups or clients of the district and territorial governments.

Thus, while the islands of Micronesia were still united as a single territory, the government structure was three tiered--i.e., with municipal, district, and territorial levels, each with its own executive head and an elected council or legislature. The powers of the representative organs at the municipal and district levels were quite limited because of their limited resources and the fact that so many areas of authority were preempted by the central government. The structure of the government as it existed before the recent separation of the Trust Territory into four self-governing entities is depicted in figure 9. The structure of two of these new entities, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia, is shown in figure 10.

It can be seen in figure 10 that the new states of Yap and Truk still function under a structure of three levels, as before, with the Government of the Federated States taking the place formerly occupied by

Figure 9

Structure of the Government of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, as It Existed before December 1977, with the Municipal Level Illustrated Only for the Mariana Islands, Yap and Truk Districts

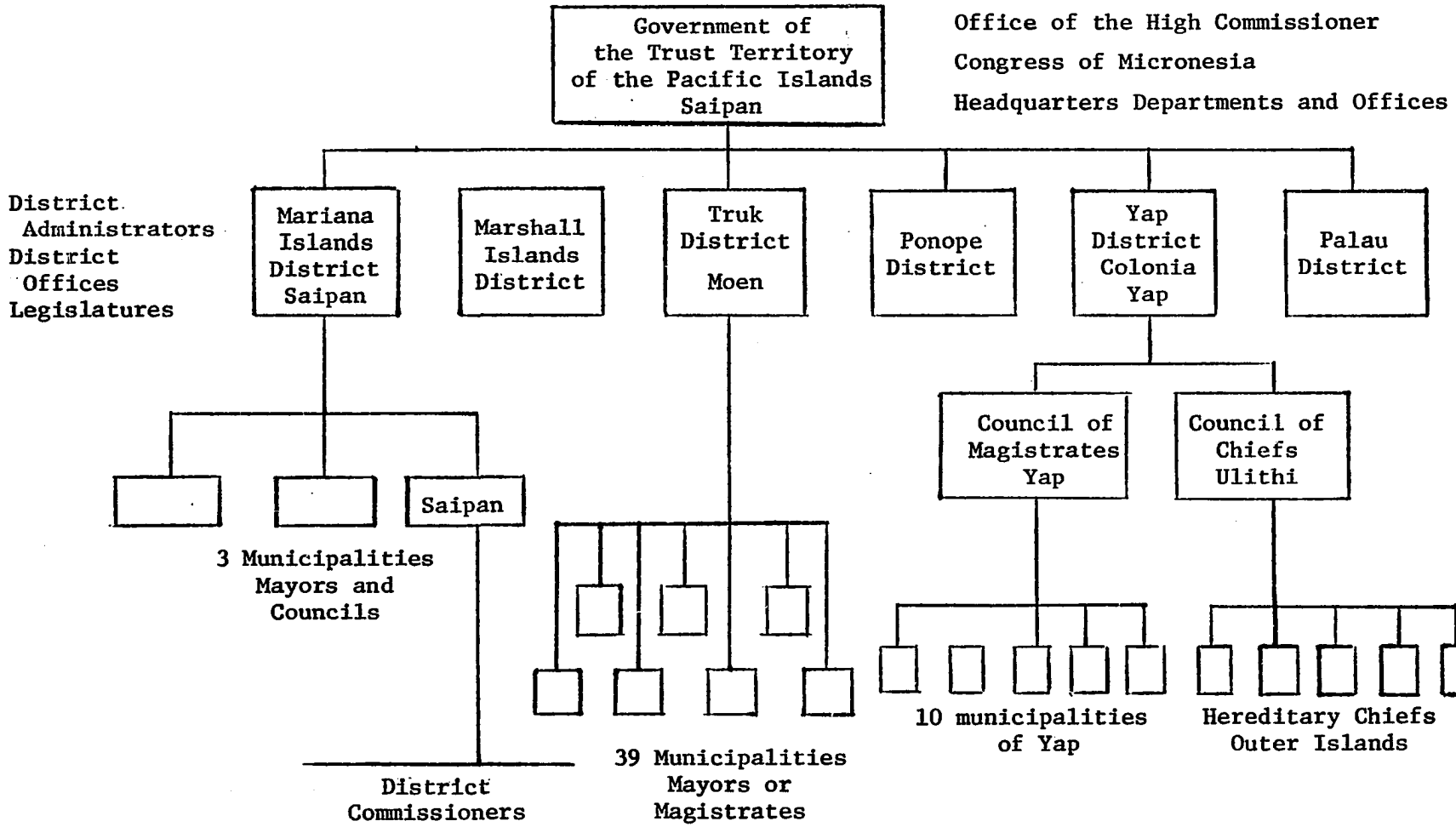
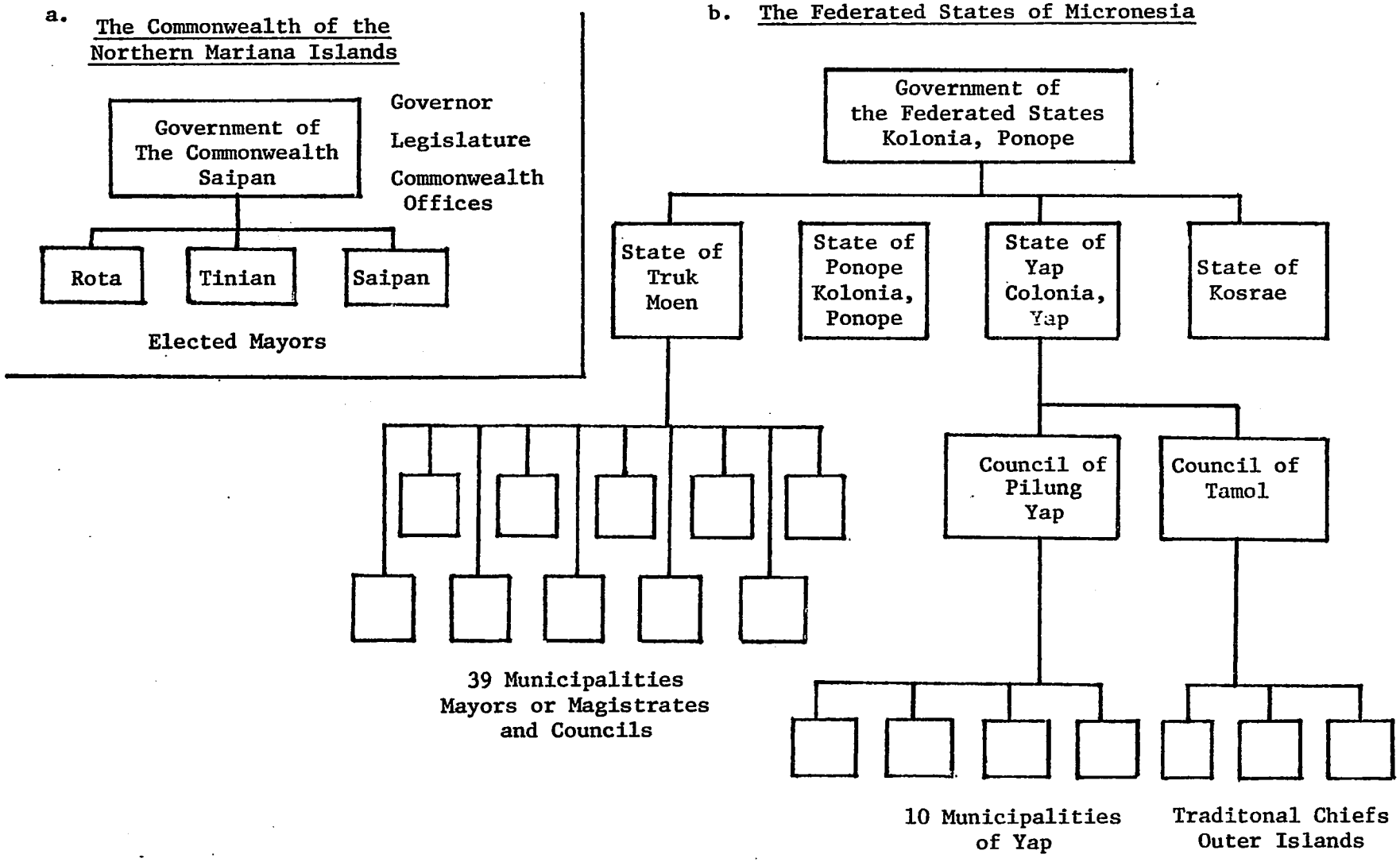


Figure 10

Structure of the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands and of the Federated States of Micronesia, as of 1980



the Trust Territory government. The government of the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, on the other hand, could arguably be said to consist of either a single level of government or two levels, depending on how one interprets the position of the elected mayors. The constitution of the commonwealth gives them no clear function, except to act as spokesmen for their communities and to serve, collectively, as a governor's advisory council. The question of additional responsibilities for the mayors, if any, was left to be decided by legislation. The municipal councils were abolished, as were the positions of the district commissioners on Saipan.

The governments which were actually observed in action during the survey were the governments as they existed under the united Trust Territory, in the case of Yap and Truk. With respect to the Northern Mariana Islands, the new government of the commonwealth was observed during the first three months of its existence.

The relative influence of leaders in the three levels of government is directly related to the resources controlled at each level. In 1975, the distribution of revenues available for expenditure by the administration, the Congress of Micronesia, and the combined district and municipal governments were as shown in table 18.

These figures do not show the comparative revenues of the district legislatures and the municipalities. Of these combined figures, the district legislature revenues make up by far the greater portion. For example, in Truk, out of $655,385 in revenues reported, $583,330, or 89 percent, were revenues of the district legislature. A total of $72,055, or 11 percent, of the revenues reported were collected by the thirty-eight

Table 18

A Comparison of the Approximate Totals of Revenues Available for Expenditure by the Trust Territory Administration, the Congress of Micronesia and the Combined District and Municipal Governments During Fiscal Year 1975

Level of Government	Revenue Available ($ Millions)	Percent of Total
Trust Territory		
Administration (Federal Grant)[1]	80.0	87.9
Congress of Micronesia	8.0	8.8
Districts and Municipalities[2]	3.0	3.3
Total	91.0	100.0

SOURCE: Annual Report to the United Nations

[1]Actual federal grant not known; estimated from report for 1976. This includes only the grant for Trust Territory budget. It does not include categorical grants under various federal programs, such as Headstart Program.

[2]Includes an estimate to cover amounts not reported for the Saipan and Rota municipalities and the Mariana Islands district.

municipalities reporting. The range of reported municipal revenue was from $35 for Ono to $40,000 for Moen. The average of revenues collected by the municipalities was just under $1,900.

If only the nine chartered municipalities in Truk are considered, the average of annual revenues per municipality for 1975 was $6,685. However, the median for that group is only $2,520. The range for these chartered municipalities is $1,020 for Polle municipality to $40,000 for Moen.

In the case of Yap, all revenues collected within the district are collected by the district government for appropriation by the legislature. The legislature provides the funding for the Council of Magistrates, the Council of Chiefs, and the separate municipalities. For fiscal year 1979, the Council of Magistrates was budgeted for $71,000 and the Council of Chiefs for $21,000. The municipality of Rull was budgeted for $17,000 and Weloy for $8,700. These are the most populous areas, adjacent to the district center and sharing in its development. The rest were lumped under a single item of $6,800 to compensate seventy-one village chiefs for monthly meetings, at $8.00 per chief, per monthly meeting.[2]

Another measure of the resources controlled at each level of government can be seen in the comparative sizes of the work forces. Table 19 shows the total number of employees, the average number per administrative district, the average wage, and the total expenditures for wages at all three levels of government.

The average per administrative district is a good measure of the relative concentration of employment provided by each of these three levels.

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[2]Bill No. 5-142, Draft 1, Fifth Yap District Legislature, Second Regular Session. These figures may have been altered in the final version of this bill.

Table 19

A Comparison of the Total Employees, Average Number of Employees, Average Wage and Total Wages Paid by the Trust Territory Government, U.S. Federal Government, Federally Funded Activities, the District Legislatures and the Municipal Governments in the Trust Territory for 1976

Level of Government	Number of Employees	Percent of Total	Average No. of Employees[1]	Average Wage	Total Wages Paid	Percent of Total
Trust Territory	8,611	88.7	1,435	$3,492	$30,073,718	92.6
U.S. Federal[2]	120	1.2	20	3,686	442,283	1.4
Community Action Agency (Federal Funding)	234	1.2	39	2,751[4]	643,632	2.0
District Legislature	501[3]	5.2	84	1,949	976,444	3.0
Municipal Government	238	2.5	40	1,367[4]	325,462	1.0
Totals	9,704	100.0	1,618	$3,345	$32,461,539	100.0

SOURCE: Wage and Employment Data, prepared by the Social Security Administration, included in Annual Report to the United Nations, 1976.

[1]Average number is per administrative district.

[2]Includes U.S. Post Office, Weather Bureau, and Legal Services (CE.O.)

[3]Includes local activities funded by the legislatures and legislative staff.

[4]Includes a large number of part-time and temporary employees.

All levels are present in all districts, although the Trust Territory government work force has a somewhat greater concentration on Saipan, which in 1976 was still the site of the Headquarters as well as the district center for the Mariana Islands.

The average number of municipal employees per municipality was two. The average number per chartered municipality was five. The exact division of the total number of municipal employees between the chartered and unchartered municipalities is not known. However, it is clear that at least some of the latter would have no full-time employees, while Saipan might have as many as thirty or even more.

Out of 115 municipalities, 45 were chartered. The process of chartering began in 1957 and has extended to those island communities that are considered more developed or ready to assume more responsibility for self-government. Generally a chartered municipality was a council, an elected mayor, or magistrate and other officials with fixed terms of office and well defined duties and responsibilities. Uncharcered municipalities may have only an elected magistrate or remain under their traditional leaders.[3]

The difference in average wages is a good measure of the comparative qualifications and status attached to employment at each level of government. The size of the work force and the average wage are measures of the amount of patronage available to leaders at each level and the value of that patronage.

Employment at the district legislature and municipal levels is patronage in the strictest sense of the word. The Trust Territory

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[3] Annual Report to the Secretary of the Interior, 1976, by the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, p. 8.

administration, on the other hand, operates under a civil service or merit system of employment. This means that recruits must meet minimum qualification standards and, in some cases, be tested under a competitive procedure. However, it is possible to comply with merit employment procedures in a very literal manner and still manage to populate one's office with large numbers of friends and relatives. In a small island community, where relatives are so numerous and family loyalties so strong, it is impossible to completely control this tendency.

Since much of the cost of municipal governments is paid by the legislatures, these subsidies represent a major part of the patronage available to the legislatures.

From the foregoing, it can be seen that the Trust Territory administration controlled roughly 90 percent of the funds and personnel employed in governmental activities in Micronesia. The Congress of Micronesia controlled almost three quarters of the funds not controlled by the administration. Of the remaining three perçent, about 90 percent is represented by district revenues and only about 10 percent is represented by municipal revenues. This means that municipal governments controlled only a fraction of one percent of the total revenues spent on government in the Trust Territory.

The relationship between the legislature and the municipalities is, in effect, a patron-client relationship. There is a similar relationship between the Congress of Micronesia and both the district legislatures and the municipalities. In addition to subsidizing the operating costs of the municipalities, the district legislature funds small public works projects in the villages. The Congress of Micronesia likewise funds public works and other one-time projects in the districts and municipalities.

Executive-Legislative Relationships

Before the establishment of the Congress of Micronesia in 1965, the High Commissioner held all of the legislative and executive authority in the Trust Territory government. The High Commissioner continued to legislate long after the Congress of Micronesia was established, creating new programs, planning and executing major capital improvement projects, revising the Trust Territory organization, and promulgating new regulations governing all categories of public services.

The authority of the Congress of Micronesia was, in effect, a kind of auxiliary legislative authority. It could legislate changes in Trust Territory programs and rewrite the laws, subject to the High Commissioner's veto power. A practical limit on this power of the Congress was the position of the administration that the Congress must fund any new programs it established. Until the passage of the first income tax law in 1971, local revenues were only in the range of two to three million dollars per year.

Beyond the activities it funded from its own limited revenues, the Congress of Micronesia had no input into the administrative budget. The Congress also had no voice in the selection of top administration personnel.

The High Commissioner relied on the advice of his staff in deciding whether or not to approve legislation initiated by the Congress. Many of his department heads and other staff members tended to be negative in their attitudes towards legislative proposals from the Congress and condescending in dealing with congressional committees.

In effect, the administration conducted the government with very limited input from the Congress of Micronesia.

Of course, the members of the Congress of Micronesia were most dissatisfied with this state of affairs and sought to enlarge their role in any way possible. They used every avenue of persuasion and pressure to accomplish this goal. They enacted resolutions expressing their desires, criticizing the administration, and registering their complaints. The members attacked the administration in speeches and these got good coverage in the Pacific area press. The leaders of the Congress of Micronesia took their case to the United States Congress and administration and to the United Nations Trusteeship Council, through resolutions, petitions, and visits by personal delegations.

Under constant pressure, the administration tended to bend gradually. In 1972, an act was approved giving the Congress of Micronesia the power of "advice and consent" on appointments to positions of department heads and district administrators. The practice was later implemented of submitting the administrative budget to the Congress in the preliminary stages for serious review and for consideration of revisions desired by the Congress.

The Congress of Micronesia began to have its own outside consultants to evaluate administration programs. One such consultant assisted the committee on governmental operations in a thorough study of the organization of the Trust Territory administration. The committee report recommended a rather thorough reorganization of the administration, which was adopted with modifications.

It was pressure from the Congress for elected district administrators and for greater decentralization of responsibility that brought about the enactment of Public Law 6-130 creating new charters for the

districts (now states). These charters not only gave the people the right to elect their own governors, but it also gave the newly created states authority over the organization of their own governments and gave their elected governors the right to appoint their principal staff members.

While the congress was expanding its role and its influence on the administration, the process of replacing Americans in top administration positions with Micronesians continued at an increasing rate. By 1976 most departments and all district administrations were headed by Micronesians.

The most influential and prestigious positions held by Micronesians in the Trust Territory were those of the top administrators and of the leaders of the Congress of Micronesia. The department heads and district administrators had the highest incomes and controlled more resources than the members of the Congress and the legislators. However, as appointees of an American High Commissioner, they had the disadvantage of identification with the alien dominated administration.

Magistrates, district legislators, and members of the Congress of Micronesia, on the other hand, were regarded as the legitimate spokesmen of the people, each at their own levels of government. Whereas those Micronesians in the administration were expected to follow and support the decisions of their alien superiors, those in elective office were free to oppose, to criticize, and to give voice to the complaints of their constituents.

The administrators were not without their supporters. It was recognized that they were the source of jobs and benefits. On the other hand, when they enforced unpopular decisions, as often as they had to,

they were regarded as unresponsive to the needs of their people. They were perceived as having "sold out" to the aliens for the personal advantages of office. At best, their authority was suspect.

The previously cited criticism of District Administrator Frank Ada for vetoing minimum wage laws is a good example of the criticisms to which Micronesian administrators are subjected by the politicians.

Sometimes Micronesians in high positions in the government are accused of favoring their own kin or members of their village or district in employment or in dispensing benefits. A great many Micronesians are quite aware of the merit principle and of the principles of nondiscrimination and equal protection of the law. They understand that decisions are supposed to be grounded in these principles and are quick to point out violations, real or imagined. Thus, during the 1978 gubernatorial campaign in Truk, it was charged that Koichi Sana had practiced nepotism during his long tenure as hospital administrator. His supporters, on the other hand, charged that Erhart Aten, as disaster control officer, had discriminated against Mortlockese living on Moen in the distribution of typhoon relief materials.

District administrators were the appointed chief executives of the former districts, which correspond to the present states of Micronesia. It is self-evident that the experience gained as a district administrator, in some respects is an ideal preparation for serving as governor of the same area. In spite of this advantage in experience, only one former district administrator was successful in seeking election as governor.[4] The

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[4]This was Leo Falcam of Ponope. In addition, former district administrator Frank Ada was elected lt. governor in the Northern Mariana Islands.

reason is obvious. The close identification with the American administration of district administrators is a political liability in a popular election.

Politically, it is clear that experience as a senator in the Congress of Micronesia is the ideal preparation for election to an executive position. Of the two former senators from Yap, John Mangefel became the first elected governor; Petrus Tun became the first Vice President of the Federated States of Micronesia. The first President of the Federated States of Micronesia is the long-time senator from Truk, Tosiwo Nakayama. The first elected governor of the Commonwealth of the North Mariana Islands, Carlos Camacho, was once a congressman from the Mariana Islands district. The first person to be elected to the position of Washington representative for the Northern Mariana Islands was the former senator and chairman of the Mariana Islands political status commission, Edward DLG. Pangelinan.

The Political Process

In describing the culture of the Northern Mariana Islands, it was stated that it is a blend of many influences on an hispanic base. Because of their exposure to a constant process of change, the people of these islands have had relatively little difficulty in accepting the new institutions of representative government, with little evidence of the ambivalence apparent in the attitudes of the people of the other island groups of Micronesia. They view these institutions as effective means of achieving planned controlled change.

The people have likewise accepted, with little evidence of ambivalence, the values on which these institutions are based, in the

culture from which they were borrowed. These values include individual responsibility and accountability, achievement based status, equality of opportunity, and nondiscrimination, among other things.

At the same time, older loyalties to the family and the ethnic group are still important. Though family loyalty and solidarity are much weaker than in other Micronesian societies, there is still some conflict between the principles of equality and nondiscrimination and the old feelings of group loyalty and intergroup rivalry.

The political process in the Northern Mariana Islands is characterized by purposefulness, factionalism, and strong competition. The political process is quite open; anyone can enter. The principal requirement is education and the same education is freely available to all. Scholarships are abundantly available for higher education for all who qualify. A high percentage of the young take advantage of these opportunities. In the pursuit of common purposes, the political leaders have often succeeded in enlisting considerable popular participation.

Purposefulness

Political development is a term that is somewhat vaguely defined. By most definitions, political development would include the increasing ability to use the political process to achieve widely shared goals. It would also be marked by a high degree of popular participation in the political process. By both of these criteria, it could be argued that the people of the Mariana Islands have reached an advanced state of political development.

One of the most striking differences between the people of the Mariana Islands and those of the other island groups is that the former

have long been clear about their long-range goals. The goal of permanent political association with the United States was first officially raised by the Rota municipal council in a memorandum to the United States Visiting Mission in 1956. By 1959, members of the Saipan municipal legislature were holding public meetings with representatives of the Guam legislature to plan for a merger of the northern Mariana Islands with the United States territory of Guam.

While there was opposition among the people of the northern Mariana Islands to merger with Guam, there was very general support for the goal of political association with the United States, in some form. Another major long-range goal of the people of the Mariana Islands was compensation for war damage by the United States and Japan. While the latter goal was shared with many island populations in Micronesia, the political leaders of the Mariana Islands were the prime movers in this campaign. They were the first to engage an attorney to pursue the matter of war claims on their behalf.

The Saipanese made full use of every available means and showed great persistance in the pursuit of these long-range goals. They repeatedly petitioned and passed resolutions for transmission to the United States Congress and administration and the United Nations Trusteeship Council. They met with every visiting delegation from Washington or the United Nations to press for recognition and support of their goals. They mobilized sign carrying crowds at the airport to greet official visitors and demonstrate for these causes. They organized and conducted plebescites to demonstrate their popular support for permanent political association. They sent delegations representing the municipal government, the district

legislature, and the Congress of Micronesia to address sessions of the United Nations Trusteeship Council. They made use of every public occasion, such as the United Nations Day celebration, to speak on behalf of their future goals.

Many of these steps, such as the plebescites and the demonstrations, involved considerable popular participation. Ultimately, the people of the Mariana Islands achieved both their political status goal and the settlement of war damage claims. Both were settled on terms that would have to be considered very satisfactory by the people.

Before the status issue was even resolved in principle for the rest of Micronesia, the people of the Mariana Islands had their own separate commonwealth government in being. It operates under a constitution of their own devising. When the trusteeship agreement is officially dissolved, the people of the Mariana Islands will be United States citizens. In the meantime, they have substantially more financial resources to work with, as a result of the commonwealth covenant, than they have ever had before.

Under the terms of the commonwealth covenant with the United States, the new government of the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands receives an annual grant of $14 million from the United States for a guaranteed period of seven years. This amount will be in constant dollars (i.e. adjusted for inflation). It will continue beyond seven years unless the amount of the grant is altered by the United States Congress. This amounts to a per capita grant of $1,000 for every man, woman, and child in the Commonwealth. Of the total grant, $8.5 million is for the operation of the government. The remainder is divided between special funds for capital improvements and for economic development loans.

The United States' economic support to the Commonwealth is not limited to the annual grant. It was agreed in the covenant that residents of the Mariana Islands would be subject to the United States federal income tax. However, the funds to be collected by the Internal Revenue Service will be retained by the Commonwealth government for its own appropriation. In addition, the Commonwealth will be subject to federal grant programs on the same basis as states, territories, and other subdivisions of the United States. The potential value of federal grants for which the Commonwealth is now eligible has been estimated at $3.9 million, annually. When the interim government of the Commonwealth went into effect, the Mariana Islands were brought under the United States Social Security system. A number of older persons in the Mariana Islands immediately became eligible for Social Security Supplemental Income payments. These payments bring perhaps another $500,000 into the economy, to say nothing of their benefits in security, status, and comfort to the elderly recipients.

The United States agreed that when it was to exercise its option to lease designated land on Tinian and Saipan for military use, it would make a lump sum payment of $19.5 million for a fifty-year lease on the land.

In addition to the annual grant, the federal income tax proceeds, and the federal grant programs for which the Commonwealth is eligible, the Commonwealth government will continue to collect excise taxes, various license fees, and other local revenues, as before. In financial terms, there is no disputing that the covenant which established the Commonwealth has been extremely favorable to the Northern Mariana Islands.

Under the Commonwealth government, political power is widely shared. With a House of Representatives of fourteen members and a Senate

of nine; with presiding officers, majority and minority leaders, and at least four standing committees in each house, there are almost as many leadership roles as there are members. As a matter of fact, observation of the legislature at work made it quite evident that all members are active, involved, and outspoken.

Organized Interest Groups

Organized interest groups play a role in the politics of the Northern Mariana Islands. The United Carolinian Association (U.C.A) has been closely associated with the Territorial Party. The U.C.A. president, Felix Rabauliman, was the party's nominee for the Congress of Micronesia three times, and was elected for one term. Dr. Benesto Kaipat, the dominant figure in the organization, served for a time as the president of the Territorial Party.

The goals of the United Carolinian Association are to promote the social, economic, and educational betterment of the Carolinian people, to prevent discrimination against Carolinians, and to preserve their culture and identity.

Democrats feel that the activities of the United Carolinian Association are divisive. They state that the goal of the Democratic Party is to persuade the people to think of themselves, not as Chamorros or Carolinians, but as citizens of one commonwealth. The leaders of the United Carolinian Association question the sincerity of this desire for unity. They say that, in the past, it has been the custom of Democratic Party speakers to disparage and ridicule the Carolinians and their customs. The Carolinian leaders also expressed the fear that this emphasis on unity can lead to assimilation and loss of identity for the Carolinian people.

Because of the Territorial Party's control of the constitutional convention, the United Carolinian Association was able to secure the adoption of a provision for the establishment of position of Assistant to the Governor for Carolinian Affairs. To the Democrats, this was another instance of the divisiveness of the U.C.A., intended to perpetuate the feeling among the Carolinians that their interests are in conflict with those of the Chamorro majority. To the Carolinians it was a necessary device for protecting the Carolinians from discrimination and for insuring recognition and preservation of their cultural heritage.

Another interest group is the Ladies Association of Saipan, closely identified with the Democratic Party. Two prominent menbers of the Territorial Party gave as their reason for switching from the Democratic Party their resentment over the attempts of the Ladies Association to "dictate" to the party members in the legislature.

One former legislator told of a bill he submitted to terminate the political status commission after the signing of the Covenant with the United States. It was his contention that remaining preparatory tasks could be handled by other agencies within the administration and the legislature. According to his account, the members of the Ladies Association descended on the legislature and demanded (successfully) that the political status commission be retained.

More recently, the Ladies Association led a successful campaign for a referendum to repeal an act of the legislature which authorized casino gambling in the Northern Mariana Islands. In this effort, they were joined by the governor and by church leaders.

Saipan has an active chamber of commerce that takes an interest in any measure related to economic development, foreign trade, and

competition or business taxation and regulation. A priority of the government and of the chamber of commerce is the promotion of tourism and local industry. Some of the more controversial issues involve protection of local business from outside competition, minimum wage laws, and legal restrictions on the importation of labor.

The Separation of Power and Stalemate

The government of the Northern Mariana Islands now vests in the elected representatives of the people all of the authority once exercised by the High Commissioner and his appointed District Administrator and their staffs. As with any self-governing United States Territory, its authority is limited by certain federal laws which apply in the commonwealth (or may be made applicable) as agreed in the commonwealth covenant with the United States. It is bound by covenant obligations to the United States, such as military land use agreements. It is also limited by its dependence on the United States grants for most of the funds required to support the operations of the commonwealth government.

However, the uses to which the support requested from the United States is to be put are now determined by the elected representatives of the people. They establish the programs, the governmental agencies to carry them out, and the laws, rules, and regulations governing their administration. The commonwealth was the first political entity in Micronesia to experience this degree of local self-government.

This new experience of self-government operates under a constitution based on a separation of powers, as required by the commonwealth covenant.[5] As it happened, this new government was ushered in by an

[5]Article II, section 203(a), Covenant to Establish a Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands in Political Union with the United States, signed on Saipan, Mariana Islands, February 15, 1975, p. A-6.

election that resulted in the control of the executive branch by one party and the legislative branch by the other. Such a circumstance puts a premium on the ability of the political leaders to bargain and compromise, to reconcile conflict and harmonize differences.

During the years of struggle for self-government, the natural cleavages that existed in the Mariana Islands and the intensely competitive character of Mariana Islands politics were kept in bounds by a sense of common purpose and a common antagonist in the United States controlled administration. When the commonwealth was achieved, the primary concern became the determination of who would control the government, with its unprecedented resources. Partisanship and competition for power were unrestrained. There was little evidence of the capacity for compromise and conflict resolution that makes the democratic process effective.

During the first term of the new commonwealth legislature, political activity was characterized by divisiveness and stalement. It was a period of constant and exaggerated struggle for control between the Democratic governor and the Territorial Party dominated legislature.

This was a period when the new framework of government had to be organized and established, policies set, new agencies created and staffed, and general directions and priorities of development efforts decided upon and initial funding levels set. Both the governor and the legislators were determined to play the primary role.

Legislation on government organization was emanating from both the legislature and the governor's office, without any advance consultation between the two. There was running conflict over which administrative positions were to be subject to the advice and consent of the Senate

and which were not. Organization bills and the Commonwealth budgets were endlessly delayed as a result of these controversies. There were sporadic attempts to set up a system of regular consultation between the leaders of the two branches of government which never seemed to have any lasting effect in smoothing out the relationships.

One of the first and major controversies was over the authority to be given to the mayors of the three municipalities with respect to control over the delivery of government services. During the constitutional convention, the representatives of Rota and Tinian had tried to give the elected mayors control over the administration of government activities in their islands. Instead, the constitutional convention had established the mayors as an advisory committee to the governor and had left the question of any further delineation of their responsibility to be done by the new legislature.

When Governor Camacho appointed governor's representatives to oversee the administration of government services on Rota and Tinian, a storm of protest came from the legislative leaders over the "usurpation" of the authority of the mayors. The senators from Rota led the attack on the governor. To add insult to injury, the governor had attended the installation ceremony for the Mayor of Tinian, a Democrat, but not the ceremony for the Mayor of Rota, a Territorial. To make matters worse, in the eyes of the Rota leaders, he appointed one of the defeated Democratic candidates for the Senate to the governor's representative position. His opponents argued there was no authority, under the constitution, to create a position of governor's representative.

Another controversy developed when the legislature enacted a legislative budget bill, providing $1.3 million for the operation of the

legislature. The governor vetoed this bill, stating that it took an excessive share of limited local resources. The veto was, at first, upheld but after token adjustments it was overridden by the legislature. If the Territorial Party voted as a unit, it took only one Democratic defector in the Senate and two in the House to override any veto.

In general, the first term of the legislature was a period of political stalemate and delay. Too much energy was expended in the fight for control. Too little of the art of compromise was demonstrated. Gone is the sense of direction that was evident during the earlier years and provided a sense of unity behind shared goals.

This excessive partisanship may be a temporary phase in the political development of the people of the Mariana Islands, even a necessary part of the shakedown process for the new government. Perhaps a modus vivendi will be worked out between the competing factions, after they have sufficiently tested their strength, that will set limits on partisanship and permit greater cooperation. It is too early to say whether the vitality that was born in adversity can survive under conditions of prosperity.

The Political Process in Yap

The islands of Yap still retain much of their traditional social system--characterized by a caste system, a strong tradition of deference for authority, the suppression of conflict, and a process of group decision making by consensus. The somewhat similar, but less stratified, society of the outer islands has been preserved to an even greater extent than has the traditional society of the Yap Islands.

It would naturally be expected that a system of representative government based on traditions of majority rule; the one man, one vote principle; strong positive individual leadership; and the candid recognition and debate of differences of viewpoint would be difficult to transplant to an island group with the traditions of the Yap district. It would naturally be expected that such a transplanted system would have to undergo considerable modification in adapting to the culture of the receiving country. This kind of modification has been true of such institutional transplants, wherever they have occurred. It is true of the transplanted institutions of government in Yap.

In discussing the political system of the Mariana Islands, it was said that the politics of those islands is characterized by purposefulness, by a factionalism that is related to traditional loyalties, and by intense competition.

These elements are also presented in the politics of Yap district. However, Yap district politics is also characterized by a great deal of ambivalence with respect to purpose. Factionalism, based on traditional cleavages, is stronger in Yap than in the Mariana Islands. On the other hand, while there is a strong element of competition in Yapese politics, the manner in which competition can be expressed is circumscribed by the tradition of suppression of conflict. It tends to take covert forms.

The District Legislature

The Yap District Legislature of 1978 presents some interesting contrasts with the Northern Mariana Islands Legislature of that same period. The most obvious of these differences are surface characteristics. For example, it is easy to see that, as a group, the members of the Yap

District Legislature, as of 1978, were older and less educated than were their counterparts in the Northern Mariana Islands Legislature. Tables 20 and 21 illustrate these differences. To complete the three district comparison, the age and education distributions for the members of the Truk District Legislature are also included. Table 20 shows the comparative distributions of the members of the three legislative bodies among the age ranges from age 21 up. This distribution is shown separately for the Yap Islands and the outer island groups in addition to the combined total for the Yap Legislature. Table 21 shows the comparative distribution of the members of these three bodies by level of education attained.

It can be seen from tables 20 and 21 that the members of the Truk Legislature are closer to those of the Yap Legislature in age distribution, but their distribution by levels of education most closely matches the distribution of the Yapese members of the Yap District Legislature.

To some extent the differences in the average number of years of formal schooling completed by members of the three legislatures are simply a reflection of the differences in age distributions. A man in his late forties would have been in his teens in the 1950s, when the minimum standard of education for all children in the Trust Territory was six years of schooling. A man in his fifties or beyond would very likely have received all of his formal schooling in the Japanese elementary schools. Table 22 shows the comparison of these same groups in terms of formal schooling separately for the forty and under and the over age forty groups.

This comparison considerably narrows the differences between these groups with respect to the age forty and under subgroups. In fact, the mean and median numbers of formal schooling completed are almost

Table 20

A Comparison of the Age Range Distributions of Members of the Yap District Legislature, for Yap Islands, Outer Islands and Total, with the Distributions of the Members of the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands and the Truk District Legislatures of 1978

	Age Ranges						
Legislatures	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61+	Mean	Median
Yap District							
Yapese Members	0	5	5	1	1	44.7	43.0
Outer Islanders	1	3	1	0	3	45.5	39.5
Total Yap Legislature	1	8	6	1	4	45.0	41.5
Mariana Islands*	4	8	5	0	0	36.6	39.0
Truk District	3	4	13	6	0	43.7	44.5

SOURCE: Data obtained by personal survey.

*Incomplete, data on six members missing from survey.

Table 21

A Comparison of Distributions by Education of Members of the Yap District Legislature, for Yap Islands, Outer Islands and Total, with the Distributions of the Members of the Legislatures of the Northern Mariana Islands with Truk District of 1978

	Years of Education Completed								
Legislatures	1-6	7-9	10-11	12	13-15	16	16+	Mean	Median
Yap District									
Yapese Members	3	1	0	3	2	3	0	11.3	12.3
Outer Islanders	3	1	2	1	2	0	0	8.0	8.5
Total Yap Legislature	6	3	0	4	4	3	0	9.9	12.0
Mariana Islands*	0	0	0	3	8	5	1	14.3	14.6
Truk District	5	7	0	10	2	2	0	9.9	12.0

SOURCE: Data obtained by personal survey.

*Incomplete, data on six members missing from survey.

Table 22

A Comparison of the Mean and Median Numbers of Years of Formal Schooling Completed by Members of the Forty and Under and Over Forty Age Groups in the Yap District Legislature, for Both Yap and the Outer Islands, the Northern Mariana Islands and the Truk District Legislatures of 1978

	Mean and Median Numbers of Years of Schooling					
	Age Categories					
	40 and Under			41 and above		
Legislatures	N	Mean	Median	Mean	Median	N
Yap District						
Yapese Members	5	15.0	16.0	8.6	7.0	7
Outer Islanders	4	12.3	13.0	6.0	5.7	4
Total Yap Legislature	9	13.8		7.7		11
Northern Mariana Islands*	12	14.8	16.0	13.0	13.0	5
Truk District	7	12.0	12.7	9.7	9.8	19

SOURCE: Data obtained by personal survey.

*Incomplete, data on six members missing.

identical for the Northern Mariana Islands and Yapese legislators in that age group. The same could be said of the Trukese and the outer island groups. In the over forty age range, the differences between the groups is even more pronounced than the difference noted when the groups were compared as a whole. This can largely be explained by the fact that the Northern Mariana Islands Legislature includes no members in the two highest age groups, i.e., age fifty-one and above.

The lowest level of education reported by any of the Northern Mariana Islands legislators was twelve years, although one of these respondents claimed a high school equivalency based on the G.E.D. test. It is evident that the differences in both age and education compositions of these legislatures is due to the fact that the people of the Northern Mariana Islands would not be likely to elect a legislator who had not at least completed high school.

While the Mariana Islands Legislature consists of a fairly homogeneous group in terms of age and education, the Yap Legislature consists of two distinct groups. One is a group of younger men, with at least a high school education, generally more. The second group consists of older men, with little formal education. Some of these men have considerable prestige in the traditional society, as well as practical experience of some years in the legislature. Two are traditional chiefs and one other is in line to succeed a chief. One of the two traditional chiefs is the Speaker of the Legislature, as he was in the Yap Islands Congress, before. He is one of the highest traditional chiefs in Yap. He is sixty-six years old and has completed only five years of Japanese elementary school.

This comparison is not to suggest that the Mariana Islands legislators are necessarily better legislators because of these differences

in surface characteristics. It is quite possible that the less educated older Yapese, who are "closer" to the life of the community and to their people, are, in some respects, better representatives of these communities than are the more educated members. There are Yapese, among those interviewed, who indicated quite strongly that they consider the traditional leaders to be closer to the people and more genuinely concerned about their welfare than are the elected leaders, as a class. They tend to view the new class of educated leaders, both elective and appointive, as too concerned with high salaries and status and too little concerned about the people and their needs. The traditional leaders, by contrast, are perceived as people who are responsible and caring.

Having said this, it is necessary to point out that the position of legislator in the Mariana Islands is relatively more prestigious than the same position in Yap and much more remunerative. The new Northern Mariana Islands Legislature is a full-time legislature and pays a respectable annual salary. Although the same detail was not available on the members of the old Mariana Islands District Legislature, it is known that it consisted of a membership which was older and less well educated than the current Commonwealth legislature. As a part-time job, for which the members were paid only when in session and for which they had to take leave from their regular positions, and with the competing attractions of Congress of Micronesia seats and jobs in Headquarters, the job of legislator did not hold the attraction for the young educated people that the new legislature holds.

With this thought in mind, it will be interesting to compare the membership of the new full-time legislature in Yap district, under its new charter, with that of the legislature of 1978. Will the

legislature elections be more strongly contested? Will they attract a new breed of younger, more educated members or will the same individuals continue to serve? Will the local magistrates and traditional leaders continue to control the nomination and election of candidates or will the new elected leaders develop independent power bases among their constituents?

One of the college educated members of the Yap Legislature complained that anyone can get elected to the legislature. What he meant was that the people pay little attention to qualifications, and the average legislator is poorly qualified by education and experience. The people care little who represents them in the legislature. They vote for a candidate because someone tells them to do so, usually the magistrate. Often a candidate is selected simply because he wants the position or, at least, is willing to accept it. Most elections are uncontested.

The Legislature at Work

The contrast in appearances and demeanor between the Northern Mariana Islands Legislature and the Yap District Legislature is as striking as the differences in the legislator's backgrounds.

Appropriate dress for business and semiformal occasions in the islands consists of open neck, tailless shirts, worn outside the trousers, patterned on the Philippine barong, with neatly pressed long trousers and dress shoes. For normal business wear, the flowered Hawaiian style "aloha shirt" is also acceptable. For women on Saipan, business dress is very much like that which mainland United States women wear during the summer months. These descriptions match the characteristic dress of legislators and legislative staff in the Northern Mariana Islands. Their clothing is generally neat and expensive looking.

By contrast, the members of the Yap Legislature in 1978 were wearing shorts and zorries, with plain sport shirts or T-shirts. Some were barefooted. Several younger, better educated members were inclined to dress a bit more like their counterparts in the Northern Mariana Islands, but they were the exceptions.

The outer island representatives, with rare exceptions, wore only the thu or breechcloth. They were either barefooted or wore zorries. Traditionally, outer island men are supposed to wear only a white thu, never a colored one, when in Yap. This is said to be a sign of respect for the Yapese. It would be more accurate to speak of it as a sign of humility. Many still observe this restriction. Others wear the white thu only if they go to Gagil.

Clothing worn by the Yapese legislators was often observed to ill-fitting and threadbare. This is not simply a matter of not caring about appearances. On the contrary, such dress is considered good form in Yap. It is a sign of proper humility.

When the other outer island representatives passed the end of the room where Chief William Yagemai of Woleai was seated, they lowered their heads in the traditional sign of deference.

To even the most casual observer, it would be obvious that the Yapese members dominate the legislature. All permanent committee chairmen were Yapese, as were the Speaker and Vice Speaker. During the sessions, the Yapese did most of the talking. All remarks in Yapese are interpreted for the outer island members and vice versa. Much of the exchange is in English as are all of the written records and bills. Most of the members have at least a very limited English capability. A complex idea expressed in English is interpreted into the local languages.

The legislators, as a group, were quite deferential in dealing with administration witnesses. While they raised a number of questions, they tended to accept without question any response offered by the administration spokesman. The hearings had none of the adversarial tone that one often finds in hearings conducted by the Northern Mariana Islands Legislature or the Congress of Micronesia. One informed observer noted that there are occasionally cases of antagonism towards administration witnesses in hearings conducted by Yapese legislators, but these seem to be the exception.

The outer island representatives were particularly passive, seldom asking a question. Chief Yagemai did question the chief of sanitation about food purchases at reduced prices in the local stores, which turned out to be spoiled. He was almost apologetic about asking the question. He explained that the poor outer islanders had so little money to spend they were naturally attracted by the reduced prices. He was told in effect that staff limitations made it impossible to police such things. It is hard to imagine a member of the Mariana Islands Legislature accepting such a response from an administration witness.

Most of the leaders of the Yap Legislature, the Speaker, and committee chairmen were said to be quite knowledgeable about the operations of government and the substantive questions of legislation. The chairmen ask very penetrating questions on proposals in their fields of jurisdiction.

The leaders, like most of the members, were government employees. For example, the Speaker was a Public Works Foreman, the Appropriations Committee Chairman a manager of the Yap Fishing Authority, and the Resources and Development Committee Chairman a District Agriculturist. This was

a universal situation in Micronesia as long as the legislatures were part-time. To exclude administration employees would be to exclude practically the entire educated class.

Perhaps the biggest impediment to the effectiveness of the legislature is the lack of clear goals for the district. The chairman of the Committee on Revenue and Taxation, when questioned about his goals for Yap, stated that he would like to see things remain much as they are. When pressed on the point, he acknowledged the desire of most people to participate as wage earners in the money economy, but said "we do not know how to begin to do this." He would like to see some blend of the past with whatever change occurs, but he is not clear on just what this blend would be.

The chairman of the Appropriations Committee, one of the younger and more educated of the legislators, would definitely like to see more economic development, particularly in the area of marine resources. He sees serious impediments in the general attitude of the Yapese. In his words, "the people take it for granted that the government is here to finance and subsidize everything." When loans made under the Economic Development Loan Fund are not repaid, no one even looks on this as a problem. No penalties are assessed for nonpayment. There are several younger members of the legislature who would like to see a planned program of economic development. Others appear to be ambivalent about it, at best.

Needless to say, an institution whose members are opposed to change or at best ambivalent about it is not going to be an effective change agent. In any case, legislators have long been accustomed to looking to the administration for leadership with respect to major development efforts. In recent years, a United Nations development agency

(UNDP) developed a long-range plan for all of Micronesia, including proposed programs for each district. A Planning Office had been established at Headquarters to coordinate further planning and development efforts. Discussion of development today always makes reference to this "Five Year Indicative Plan." It is still too early to pass judgment on the effects of this plan. However, if it requires strong initiatives from the local leadership, it is difficult to see from whom these initiatives will come. The Yapese tradition of decision making with its emphasis on harmony and conflict avoidance is not conducive to strong or innovative leadership.

The Congress of Micronesia

All of the members of Yap's Congress of Micronesia delegation in 1978 were college trained, although only the representative from the outer islands has completed a degree. Nonetheless, the other three are among the most articulate of Micronesian leaders, with excellent command of English. As a whole, the Yapese delegation is as well respected as any in the Congress. The people have always recognized the importance of education and experience in selecting their members of the Congress.

In prestige, the members of the Congress of Micronesia have been rivaled only by the Yapese District Administrator. The Chairman of the Council of Magistrates also commands great respect, as does the Speaker of the Legislature.

The members of the Congress are very conscious of their need for the support of the Legislature, the Council of Magistrates, and the traditional leaders of Yap. They are careful to consult with them, report to them, and show them respect. The support of these leaders means the support of the community.

On the other hand, the members of the Congress know that on broad questions of territorial law and policy, they have almost complete freedom of action. Even on such matters as the kind of constitution that should be adopted by a self-governing Micronesia, the traditional leaders profess no competence and expect to be guided by their representatives in Congress. As long as the members of Congress make the gesture of consulting them, they are likely to get their support. The magistrates are vitally concerned with pork barrel questions and proposals that directly affect their communities, such as the rebuilding of the airstrip on Woleai or any question involving land acquisition in their islands. Their voice is decisive on such questions, as far as the congressmen are concerned. The congressmen know which questions require their active participation and which do not. Most matters of legislative concern do not.

The two senators from Yap are among the most senior members of the Congress. They are quite outspoken on important issues. They are much quoted in the press. The Yapese have been strong supporters of unity for Micronesia. Senator Mangefel has opposed higher wages for Micronesians because they increase Micronesian dependency on the United States. In recent years, both senators have fought a running battle against federal feeding programs, using USDA surplus food. They argue that these programs undermine self-sufficiency, create dependency, and develop a preference for imported food over native food. It would be hard to dispute that these programs have these effects.

During the survey in Yap, the first election under the new charter for the district was still many months away. It was known that the District Administrator, Edmund Gilmar, would be a candidate to become the first elected governor of Yap. Since appointed district administrators

suffer under the liability of too close identification with the Trust Territory administration, Yapese informants were asked whether they thought Gilmar would win. Their opinion was that he would win for lack of an alternative, unless one of the two incumbent senators became a candidate. These opinions were born out when Senator Mangefel became a candidate and was subsequently elected.

Consensus decision making is a strong tradition in Yap. Leaders of the Congress, the administration, the legislature, and the magistrates get together frequently for consultation on matters of current concern. When a congressman or other leader says he is spearking for the entire Yap Islands leadership, he is speaking the literal truth.

The Outer Islands

The day-to-day government of the outer islands of Yap district is in the hands of the hereditary chiefs and their councils. Except in Ulithi, the formal institutions of government are hundreds of miles removed. The people carry on their traditional activities according to traditional rules and decision making procedures. Questions involving marriages, inheritance, land use rights and labor on lineage lands are decided by lineage heads in consultation with the elders in the lineage. Matters which involve the entire village or island are decided in the community council of elders presided over by the traditional chief, who is the head of the ranking lineage.

Except for official visitors, no one can visit these islands without the permission of the chief. Even official visitors are bound by traditional law. For example, in Ulithi Atoll any visitor to an island, including official visitors, who does not report to the men's house immediately

on arrival to announce himself and explain the purpose of his visit will have his boat confiscated. It will not be returned to him until he makes an appropriate payment to the offended village. Fishing rights in every area of the Ulithi lagoon belong to some clan. Anyone who fishes in any area belonging to another clan is required to take a portion of his catch to the clan leader. If he failed to do so, his boat may be confiscated by the offended clan. These laws are still strictly enforced.

The outer island Council of Chiefs is the counterpart to the Yap Islands Council of Magistrates. The Council of Chiefs, as the name implies, are strictly the hereditary chiefs. They have never been called magistrates nor made elective.

Chief Belarmino Hethey, the district chief of Mogmog, is the present chairman of the outer island Council of Chiefs. Although he is the second ranking outer islands chief, his position as chairman is legitimate, in traditional terms, because his predecessors were the conveners of the outer island chiefs. It was not unusual, in the past, for the paramount chief to limit himself to the ceremonial aspects of the position of ranking chief. His position was so sacred he was almost above politics.

Given the great distances that must be travelled, the outer islands Council of Chiefs normally convenes only once a year. It usually meets on Falalop Island in Ulithi Atoll. During their conferences, they are visited by representatives of the district administration, the Congress of Micronesia, and, possibly, the Trust Territory Headquarters. These visitors report on developments and may introduce new proposals for their reaction. The District Administrator's representative in Ulithi serves as conference host, facilitator, and point of radio contact with the district administration, Trust Territory Headquarters, and other outside agencies.

One of the topics discussed at the conference in 1977 was a proposal to make the island of Woleai a subdistrict center. There had already been agreement, in principal, between the administration and the Woleai chiefs to rebuild a runway in that atoll to make it possible for the small plane of the Pacific Missionary Airline to land there. This would bring Woleai in closer contact with the outside world. The establishment of the subdistrict center would principally have the effect of bringing in a handful of additional government jobs. A second topic was a discussion of the problem of discipline among students at the Outer Islands High School on Ulithi. The principal and teachers took part in this discussion.

Shortly before this conference an unusual event had occurred, involving a number of outer island students and a few teachers and staff members from Woleai. Upon hearing of the decision of the Woleai chiefs to approve the airstrip for Woleai, they had petitioned the district administration, the Trust Territory, and the Congress of Micronesia delegation from Yap against the airstrip. They were called in by the chiefs and told that they had no business taking public exception to a decision by the chiefs. They were also told that they could have brought their opinions directly to the chiefs, if they wished to be heard. They later prepared a second petition, which was strongly critical of the "dictatorial" attitude of the chiefs, in which they reiterated their opposition. However, this time they asked permission of the chiefs to send the petition. When the chiefs refused, the petition died. Ironically, the students were arguing that the airstrip should not be built because it would undermine the traditional lifestyle of the people. This cast the chiefs in the role of being the underminers of tradition.

Except for the fact that they are less touched by government, day by day, and in less frequent contact, the relationship of the outer island chiefs to the government is much the same as the relationship of the magistrates of Yap Islands to the government. They are the principal spokesmen for their communities. They are consulted by the elected and appointed leaders on any matter that directly affects life on their islands or on which their support is needed to insure public acceptance. They take a strong interest and are consulted on pork barrel appropriations for their islands. They have a great deal to say about who gets elected to office, particularly to the district legislature. Their support is also important to any candidate for the Congress, especially for the representative from the outer island.

The Political Process in Truk

In 1978, the Truk District Legislature, as in Yap and unlike the Northern Mariana Islands, was a part-time legislature. Like the Yapese legislature, its members were largely employees of the Trust Territory district administration. Fully one-half of its members were in the 41 to 50 age range, with roughly an equal number above and below that range (table 20). It bears more resemblance to the legislature of the Mariana Islands district, before the commonwealth, than it does to the younger, better educated membership in the new commonwealth legislature.

Its members have enjoyed somewhat more prestige than their counterparts in the Yap District legislature. It has been more activist in promoting change. Like the legislature in the Northern Mariana Islands, the Truk legislature has enacted many resolutions strongly critical of the performance of the administration and calling for reform. It built

its own legislative hall and adjoining offices, which are quite functional. It also built an official residence for its Speaker, high on a hill overlooking the lagoon. No Speaker has elected to live in it, but it has been used for official entertainment on many occasions.

In meetings of the legislature, dress and demeanor are more like that of the membership of the Northern Mariana Islands than that of the Yap legislature. No Trukese legislator would think of wearing shorts to a legislative session.

As in Yap, organized interest groups have not arisen in Truk. However, as in Yap, traditional chiefs, magistrates, and clan leaders resemble interest group leaders more than they resemble local government leaders.

Women's groups are generally not politically active. However, a situation occurred in 1977 which caused the church women of Truk to mobilize as an ad hoc interest group.

This situation involved one of those periodic outbreaks of violence between communities in the Truk Lagoon; in this case between villages on the islands of Tol and Dublon. It began with a stabbing incident in a local bar.

This incident led to a demand by the church women of Truk to put an end to the sale of liquor. An attempt was made to satisfy this demand by permitting the sale of liquor only to persons who possess a permit, which permit could be revoked in case of abuse. This had been done in Ponope, also in response to a demand from the women. In this case, the Trukese women were unwilling to accept this compromise. In the end, a popular referendum was held on a proposal to completely outlaw the sale or consumption of alcoholic beverages in Truk.

The prohibition law was approved by 75 percent of the voters. This means that a lot of men, as well as women, had to have voted for the law. Some ten months later, Truk was found to be, to all appearances, bone dry. Furthermore, practically all Trukese who were asked to comment said they felt good about the change. This is an example of the tendency of the Trukese to look to the strong arm of authority to save them from themselves, as noted by Marc Swartz.[6]

When the decision was made to permit the districts to prepare new charters, as an interim step in preparation for self-government, Truk was the first district to submit its charter and secure approval.

This charter provides for an elected governor and a lieutenant governor, who must be Trust Territory citizens and Truk residents and at least 35 years of age. These officials are elected for four years and have the normal executive functions of such offices in the United States, including the power of item veto of legislation. To be elected, a candidate must receive the highest number of votes and at least 45 percent of the total vote cast.

The charter creates a legislature of twenty-eight members, elected from thirteen electoral districts, with from one to five members from each. These multimember districts make it possible to apportion representation fairly evenly without splitting natural communities.

The legislature has the power to create municipal governments and define their powers. It has the exclusive taxing authority, which

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[6]Marc J. Swartz, "Personality and Structure: Political Acquiescence in Truk," in Induced Political Change in the Pacific, ed. Roland W. Force (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1965), pp. 36-38.

it may delegate to the municipalities. It has the authority to apportion district revenues among the municipalities.

The legislators are full-time and receive an annual salary of $5,000, with $7,000 for the Speaker, unless otherwise provided by law.[7] This salary is probably attractive enough to encourage good candidates to run, given the employment situation in Truk; but it is, by no means, generous. Compared with salary ranges in the administration, it is too low. The salaries of the governor, lt. governor, and members of the judiciary are left to the legislature to establish by law.

The charter creates a district court, consisting of a chief justice, and two associate justices and provides for the establishment of municipal courts and other tribunals by law.

All justices, all department heads, and all heads of boards, commissions, and executive agencies which may be established by law are appointed by the governor, subject to the advice and consent of the legislature.

There are some unique features, without precedent in the constitutions of the various subdivisions of the United States. It provides that title to land in Truk District shall be held only by citizens of the Trust Territory or by corporations wholly owned by them. It also provides that radioactive, toxic, chemical, or other harmful substances shall not be used, tested, stored, or disposed of in the district, without the express consent of the district government and the concerned municipal government. It prohibits capital punishment.

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[7]This practice of stipulating a salary for legislators in the constitution, unless otherwise provided by law, began with the Northern Mariana Islands constitution. It stipulated a salary of $8,000 for

Summary

In chapter one, it was noted that principal concern of this study is the ways in which the traditional authority systems of Micronesia influence the character of adaptations to the newly introduced institutions of government (p. 43). It was further stated that this influence is manifested in two ways. First, the traditional leaders can bring influence to bear on decisions of government. Second, attitudes, values, and behavior appropriate to the traditional authority system can persist and influence the attitudes and behavior of individuals in new political roles.

Traditional leaders are still much in control in the outer islands of Yap, since there is very little government presence in these islands. These leaders have a great deal to say about anything the government wishes to do in their islands. On the other hand, they have little or no input into government decisions that are not specific to their islands.

Elsewhere, traditional leaders, who are magistrates, have some influence as spokesmen for their communities. They function more as interest group leaders than as local government officials. They are consulted with respect to projects for the benefit of their own communities. Legislators and members of Congress try to insure that the communities they represent get their fair share of the pork barrel appropriations, since they need the support of these magistrates. They are particularly important, in this respect, in Yap, since their support is generally crucial to a candidate for the legislature.

The support of traditional leaders is often needed to insure community support for a government program or policy. They were called on,

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legislators, $20,000 for the governor. Almost all of the framers felt these figures were much too low, which testifies to the pressure of conservative elements in the convention. The provision in the Yap constitution is almost identical to that of Truk.

in this way, to generate support for the new constitution before the referendum of 1978. Their support is somewhat less important in Truk, except in particular local situations.

In any case, apart from the pork barrel, their influence on legislation is limited by their lack of background on most matters of legislative concern. On such matters, the elected legislators and congressmen are free to act as they think best.

The Yapese have completely dominated the district legislature. Habits of deference towards the Yapese and towards administration leaders are thoroughly ingrained in the outer islands representatives. This could be changing in the new state legislature, which is full time and provides a relatively attractive salary. It now has the potential to attract better educated, more highly motivated candidates.

To a certain extent, the same comments could apply to the Yapese members of the legislature. Though they are more experienced than their outer island counterparts and have a core of interested leaders, they also tend to be too deferential in dealing with administration spokesmen. If a greater number of the more educated young Yapese could be brought into the legislature, with the increase in status and salary, it could be more effective. Of course, to gain entry, under present conditions, they would need to be sufficiently astute to recognize they need the support of traditional leaders and to know how to secure it.

Legislators in the Northern Mariana Islands have been anything but deferential in dealing with the leaders of the administration. In spite of intense competition, the elected leaders of the Northern Mariana Islands have been able to work together in enlisting popular support in the pursuit of common goals. Since the major goal of self-government

has been achieved, the competition for control of the new government has so intensified that the government has been stalemated. This may prove to be a temporary phase which will work itself out in a new alignment of forces. The voters have a sufficient awareness of matters political that they may refuse to tolerate this excess of partisanship.

In the past, legislators--as the only elected representatives of the people--enjoyed a legitimacy that Micronesian leaders in the administration lacked. Now that the administrations are all headed by elected chief executives, these new administration leaders can claim the same legitimacy as the legislators. These new executives are well aware of their strength as the chief dispensers of patronage. Part of the problem in the Northern Mariana Islands has been that both sides have apparently overestimated their relative strength and failed to recognize that compromise and bargaining are the essence of effective leadership. A government based on the separation of powers places a heavy demand on leaders to exercise these political arts. This is particularly true, in the absence of disciplined, responsible political parties.

Given the strong tradition of consensus leadership in Yap, an effective working relationship between the separate branches is likely. The first elected governor of Yap is an effective practitioner of consensus decision making. The danger in Yap is that the emphasis on consensus and conflict avoidance will make for ineffective leadership, unable to give direction to the course of the state's development.

In Truk, as in Yap, there is a tradition of consensus decision making and conflict avoidance. On the other hand, traditional rivalries are strong enough to threaten a breakdown in the consensus at any time.

The tradition of consensus decision making drew its strength from the recognition that the only alternative to consensus was perpetual conflict. It was considered unwise to force an unacceptable decision on a parochial community simply because they constituted a numerical minority. The new political system provides representation in proportion to population. There is a temptation for the majority to feel that they can safely ignore the wishes of minority communities, who can be forever outvoted. The one man, one vote--majority rule--principles seem to give legitimacy to this attitude. This creates a perpetual sense of grievance, which is evident in the periodic secessionist threats which have occurred in the Mortlock islands in Truk and on Rota in the Mariana Islands.

As long as parochialism prevails, the new governments of Micronesia need leaders who are traditional to the extent that they recognize that unity can only be maintained by accommodating diversity through the principle of consensus decision making.

CHAPTER XII

POLITICAL ATTITUDES

Introduction

To this point, the description and analysis of the political cultures of the four island groups have centered on the political behavior of the people as observed and reported. The "implicit and explicit patterns of political behavior and institutions" which have emerged from this study throw light on the directly observable aspects of political culture as defined in chapter one (page 3).

This chapter deals with that other aspect of political culture: "the systems of belief (attitudes, values and opinions) about the political world." As the aforementioned definition states, these are "historically derived and selected and . . . have cognitive, expressive and emotional dimensions" (page 3). In short, the analysis now shifts from political behavior to the meanings, understandings and feelings that underlie the behavior.

As the definition implies, the concern is with systems of belief about the political world; not opinions or attitudes in isolation but the interrelatedness of politically relevant attitudes. In chapter one, it was stated that political attitudes do not occur in "splendid isolation" but "are closely linked . . . in some kind of pattern" (page 13).

This patterning of attitudes is a consequence of the fact that they reflect more basic underlying attitudes or predispositions to respond in a similar way to related objects.

Can one generalize that responses to items designed to measure a wide range of politically relevant questions will exhibit some such structure? Does this not depend on the extent to which people are aware of the political world and accustomed to thinking about government and politics? To use Rensohn's term, does it not depend on the salience of the political sphere? Is it not to be expected that in a parochial political culture, or among "parochials" in a mixed political culture, that respondents will lack a clear, consistent orientation towards political objects? If such is the case, will they not fail to respond or respond randomly to questions concerning political attitudes?

It is probably true that many of the respondents to the political attitude survey were asked to respond to specific statements of attitude that they had never addressed before. Most items were in the form of statements to which respondents were asked to express agreement, disagreement, or no opinion. In some cases, no doubt, they experienced difficulty in grasping the meaning of the statement. To the extent that this is true, it cannot be expected that responses to a range of such questions will exhibit a coherent pattern.

On the other hand, will not anyone have some kind of general disposition towards government that should give some structure to his responses to political questions, if only a conviction of government's irrelevance to his life? In any case, many attitudes that are not specifically political are still "politically relevant." There can be no clear line drawn between the political and the non-political spheres.

To illustrate, almost without exception, a Micronesian will respond decisively to a statement concerning whether the government should have a right to compel a landowner to sell his land if it is needed for a public purpose, such as the building of a school or a road. Micronesians have a strong attachment to their land. This becomes politically relevant when government seeks to acquire privately owned land.

To use another example, Micronesians will almost always respond to a statement that the government should encourage foreigners to invest their money in Micronesia. Their response may reflect an attitude about foreigners or foreign control. On the other hand, there may be a general awareness of the connection between investment and the availability of a job. It is not necessary for a Micronesian (or anyone else) to have any knowledge of economics in order to have a predisposition to respond to such questions in a given manner.

The eighty-three attitude survey items to which the Micronesians were asked to respond were drawn from intensive study of the historic political experience of the people and the political problems with which they have been confronted over the past thirty years (see chapter six). These constitute part II of the political attitude survey, contained in appendix A. (Part I consists of items of personal data.)

During the period of the survey the people were in the very process of making the two most basic and important decisions they have yet been called upon to make. One of these was the question of the character and duration (or permanence) of their continuing political association with the U.S. The second was whether and to what extent Micronesian political unity should be preserved.

A great many of the statements to which the respondents were asked to express agreement and disagreement were favorable or unfavorable judgments on various politically relevant groups. These included American workers in the Trust Territory administration, Peace Corps volunteers, Micronesians in the administration, and elective political leaders in Micronesia. Other statements were evaluations of the United States and its role and objectives in Micronesia.

It was anticipated that the latter set of statements, along with those concerning Americans in Micronesia, might tap a general disposition towards the United States and its people (pro or anti-American). Taken together with questions about Micronesian unity and the treatment of various groups in Micronesia, responses to these questions could relate to a broader attitude of ethnocentricity. In conjunction with questions about Micronesian office holders, they might be found to relate to a general attitude of trust (or distrust) in government or to one's sense of political efficacy.

The first five items on the political attitude scale were the five forms of possible future political status for Micronesia which have received serious consideration from Micronesians. Respondents were asked to rank these choices, in order of their preference, from one to five. It was anticipated that status preference would relate to attitudes towards the United States and its role in Micronesia and towards Americans in Micronesia.

The second five items consisted of descriptions of five types of government structure, representing different degrees of centralization or decentralization; from a unitary government at one end of the scale

to complete political separation of the individual island groups at the other end. Again, respondents were asked to rank each of the five choices, in order of preference, from one to five. It was anticipated that these responses would relate to attitudes concerning Micronesian unity.

The seventy-three remaining items were in the form of statements to which respondents were asked to agree or disagree. Some dealt with judgments about the traditional social system and the desirability of attempting to preserve it. Others dealt with preserving the natural environment. Still others dealt with the role of government in promoting economic development and social welfare.

Among the statements dealing with economic development were proposals for holding down the cost of government through restraining the growth of the government work force, restraining--if not reducing--government wage levels, and requiring citizens to pay a larger share of the cost of government services. A related statement was a proposal to encourage the consumption of local produce by taxing imports more heavily.

These are all proposals that have been made by various authorities, including some Micronesian leaders, as means of making Micronesians more self-supporting and less dependent on the United States. Any hope for ultimate political independence would naturally require a considerable reduction in this state of economic dependency. These proposals call for very significant sacrifice, since government employment is more remunerative and considered more prestigious than the bulk of private employment. Even in the long run, a self-supporting Micronesia would mean lowered expectations.

As pointed out in chapter five, no conceivable economic development for Micronesia would provide a standard of living for substantial

numbers comparable to the standard enjoyed by those employed in the government sector today. To put it another way, a level of government that could be supported out of the private economy, under the most optimistic forecasts of economic development, would employ relatively fewer people and pay substantially lower wages than does the present government. It would provide fewer and more austere services.

It cannot be assumed that Micronesians are generally aware of the association between less government, lowered expectations, and becoming self-supporting. Nor can it be assumed that they are generally aware of the relationship between economic independence and the possibility of political independence. Even if these relationships are recognized, are the people willing to accept economic sacrifices and lowered expectations for the sake of being self-supporting and enlarging the range of their political choices?

To the extent that these relationships are understood, it is to be expected that a willingness to accept the above mentioned proposals for government austerity would be associated with a preference for political independence. Conversely, it is to be expected that disagreement with these measures would be associated with a preference for permanent association with the United States.

How do all of these interrelationships of attitudes reflect the relative influence of traditional cultures and stages of acculturation and economic development, the central concern of this study? This is the principal question to be addressed in the following pages. First, it is necessary to describe the sample and to explain the methods of selecting respondents and administering the survey.

The Sample

The survey sample consisted of 290 persons located principally on thirteen islands and atolls in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands and the present states of Yap and Truk. Small numbers from other islands in these three subdivisions residing temporarily on one of the thirteen islands were also included.

Actually only twelve of the thirteen islands or atolls were visited. It proved to be impossible to visit Woleai Atoll. However, a number of outer islanders from the islands to the east of Ulithi were surveyed at "Madrich," the temporary residence of outer island people visiting the Yap Islands.[1] The sample was distributed by political subdivision, island, and sex as in table 23.

Truk is underrepresented and Yap is quite overrepresented in the sample. Truk has 58.8 percent of the estimated population of the total area covered by the survey but only 40 percent of the sample. Yap, with only 14.2 percent of the population, has 32.4 percent of the sample population. The Northern Mariana Islands has 27 percent of the area population and 27.6 percent of the sample, a rather close match. The overrepresentation of Yap District was largely a consequence of the attempt to insure a good sample of outer island people, since they are one of the four subcultures selected for comparison.

Women are obviously underrepresented. As in most countries, women in Micronesia constitute roughly one-half of the population.

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[1]According to a Woleaian informant, "Madrich" is the local pronunciation of "Madrid," the capital city of Spain for which the compound was named. It was formerly occupied by Spanish Catholic missionaries who donated it as a temporary shelter for visiting outer islanders.

Table 23

Distribution of Political Attitude Survey Sample
by Political Subdivision, Island, and Sex

Island	Sample Number Male	Female	Total
Northern Mariana Islands			
Saipan	38	20	58
Tinian	8	7	15
Rota	5	2	7
Total NMI	(51)	(29)	(80)
Yap District[1]			
Yap Islands	28	9	50
Ulithi Atoll	13	9	22
Woleai Atoll[2]	12	10	22
Total Yap District	(53)	(41)	(94)
Truk District[1]			
Moen	13	10	23
Nomoneas[3]	17	10	27
Faichuk[4]	25	11	36
Upper Mortlocks[5]	8	7	15
Other Truk[6]	13	2	15
Total Truk District	(76)	(40)	(116)
Total All Islands	180	110	290

[1]Yap and Truk were still districts of the Trust Territory at the time of survey.

[2]The Woleai sample includes a few from Lamotrek, as well.

[3]The Nomoneas area includes the islands of Dublon, Fefan, and Uman.

[4]The Faichuk area includes the islands of Tol, Polle, Pata, Udot, Romonum, and others.

[5]The Upper Mortlocks includes the islands of Nama, Losap, and Pis-Losap.

[6]"Other Truk" includes any islands not otherwise named, principally those of the Lower Mortlocks.

An attempt was made to select respondents by a random selection process. The complete list of Social Security enrollees was used to obtain names of persons to be contacted for survey. This group was used in order to supply a sample from among those involved in the money economy. It was expected that a way could be found of randomizing the selection of persons not involved in the money economy, perhaps through tax rolls[2] or other records in magistrates' offices.

The Social Security Administration makes periodic computer lists of enrollees, by the order of their enrollment in the system, by district. Each page on a computer list contains fifty names. Numbers one to fifty were written on slips of paper and deposited in a box. For each page of the social security lists, two of these numbers were drawn; then names and places of employment of persons whose names occupied the place on the page corresponding to these numbers were placed on a list of those to be contacted. The lists provided were sufficiently large to allow an adequate sample, allowing for the likelihood that large numbers would not be located. This system worked reasonably well. About 40 percent of the persons selected in this manner were contacted.

However, among the nonworking adults, and particularly among the outer island populations, it proved to be impossible to select respondents on any other basis than their availability at the time of contact and their willingness to participate. In order to secure cooperation, it was necessary to rely on influential contacts within each community.

Three methods of administration were employed, depending on the education and language capability of respondents. For those who had no

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[2]All adults are subject to an annual capitation tax (head tax), at least.

significant difficulty in reading the survey questions and directions, the printed sheets were simply left with the individual to be picked up later. A very high percentage of these were completed. In only a very few instances the questionnaires were "lost."

For a number of people who could read and write English but had somewhat limited education, the investigator sat with the respondent and went over the questions and directions, one by one, translating them into simple English, where necessary, and answering questions. Thus guided, the respondents were able to complete the questionnaire. In some cases the investigator met with two or more respondents together, but they marked their answer sheets without communication.

For those who required it, an interpreter was provided. In such cases, the investigator stated the question in the simplest possible terms which were then interpreted into the local language. Respondents would indicate their answers to the interpreter or the investigator, who would then mark the answer sheet.

In many cases, this method actually allowed greater confidence that the questions were understood. Many of those who required an interpreter felt a need to comment on or explain their answer. This was particularly true of older respondents. In some cases, the questions about the meaning made it clear that the question was understood.

One rather serious problem was encountered in this use of interpreters. The process of giving each question in simple English, having it interpreted, and receiving and interpreting the response into English proved to be quite time consuming. To repeat this process, individually, with each non-English speaking respondent would have

overtaxed the respondent's patience and endurance. It would have put an intolerable burden on the interpreters, who were putting in many hours on the project, as it was. Thus, it was a practical necessity, in a number of cases, to survey these individuals in groups of from three to six.[3]

The problem resulting from the use of an interpreter with a group of respondents was that this practice required that the members of the group state their responses orally. This sometimes tended to create a group response or, more accurately, a repetition of the responses of the senior members of the group.

This did not seem to be a serious problem for groups in the same general age range. Older men and women did not hesitate to differ with the group. It was quite clearly a problem among younger women of the outer islands of Yap. They tended to pick up whatever response the older men or women made.

Results of the Survey

The political attitude survey results are analyzed in terms of attitude structure, as defined and discussed in chapter one. How and to what extent are attitudes on specific questions organized into coherent patterns by more basic underlying attitudes or predispositions? How many of these broader attitude dimensions exist and how are they associated?

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[3]On two occasions, it was necessary to survey substantially larger groups of respondents, together. On these occasions, however, there were several interpreters, each working with from three to six respondents. Most of these respondents had sufficient understanding that they could mark their own answer sheets, given a clear interpretation of the survey item. This circumstance avoided the necessity of oral declarations of responses.

The analysis also involves a determination of how and to what extent these basic attitudes are associated with differences in culture, education, age, and sex.

Items Eliminated

Of the eighty-three political attitude survey items, there were four items on which fewer than 10 percent of the respondents disagreed. On these four items, at least 90 percent of those who had an opinion were in agreement. On these four items on which there is the greatest consensus, it seems apparent that the extent of the agreement is due to the innocuousness of the question. On reflection, it is clear that there are simply no reasons for disagreeing with the statements. For example, the highest percentage of agreement was recorded on the following statement, which was one of a group which were prefaced:

> In order to make it possible for Micronesia to become self-supporting and thus more independent of the United States, I would favor the following (items 36-42),
> 41. Giving all possible help to local agriculture, fishing and small industries.

Most of the other six items grouped together by the above preface suggested some degree of sacrifice on the part of Micronesian citizens in order to achieve a self-supporting Micronesia. These other items each elicited a substantial percentage of negative responses. Few found any reason to disagree with helping agriculture and industry, since there is no indication in the item of any cost of such help to the respondents.

Eight additional items met with 15 percent or less disagreement. In five of these the high percentage of agreement appeared to be a consequence of the innocuousness of the statement. These items were disregarded in the conduct of the analysis, as reported below.

Future Political Choices

One aspect of the general consensus needs to be individually addressed, namely the political future. This aspect includes both the consensus concerning the most desirable political status for Micronesia and the degree of political unity that should be maintained among the islands of Micronesia. Table 24 shows the distribution of scores derived from the rankings of the five choices and the mean score of each choice on the question of the most desirable political future status for the territory as a whole. These rankings are scored on a scale of 5 for a first choice to 1 for the fifth choice.

The highest mean score given to the status quo means that the majority of respondents would have preferred to postpone having to decide on the question of their political future status. The second highest score was given to free association, the status recommended by the political status delegation of the Congress of Micronesia. In spite of the fact that there have been many advocates of political independence, most respondents would apparently have preferred some form of permanent political a association with the United States to independence, if they were compelled to make that choice. However, like their leaders, they clearly prefer an association of indefinite duration, which does not foreclose other possibilities for the future, to either permanent association or complete independence.

Of the two forms of permanent association with the United States, commonwealth, which allows more internal self-government, was preferred over the status of a U.S. territory by most respondents. The two extreme positions, offering the most complete control by the United States and the most complete independence, were the two lowest ranking choices.

Table 24

Distribution of Scores Derived from Rankings of Alternative Political Statuses by Respondents to Political Attitude Survey

	Distribution of Scores Assigned to Rankings of Choices						
Statuses / Choice: / Score:	(1st) 5	(2nd) 4	(3rd) 3	(4th) 2	(5th) 1	Mean Score	Median Score
Status quo	128	51	36	27	35	3.76	4.29
Free association	79	76	51	30	39	3.46	3.73
Commonwealth	42	53	51	72	55	2.84	2.69
U.S. Territory	43	34	67	42	86	2.65	2.62
Independence	28	55	48	41	103	2.51	2.34

SOURCE: Political Attitude Survey.

Table 25 shows the rank order of these choices, based on mean rank, for each of the four island groups.

The respondents of the Northern Mariana Islands understandably preferred the choice they had made for themselves. They also preferred the alternative form of association with the United States to free association or independence. Only Truk ranked independence higher than permanent association with the United States. Truk has had the most vocal independence advocates among their leaders but it was never clear to what extent these views were shared by the general population.

The outer island respondents gave the lowest mean ranking to independence of any of these groups and the highest mean ranking to the status quo option. The latter is quite consistent with their general conservatism. The reason for the strong rejection of independence is less clear. They may feel that they can best preserve their life style by maintaining a relationship with the United States. They have certainly been able to do so, to date.

The distribution of scores assigned to the ranking of choices with respect to the degree of political unity that Micronesians should maintain were distributed in table 26. This rank order happens to follow the order in which the choices were presented. The first choice presented was that of the most unified political state and the choices follow in the order of progression through various stages of decentralization to the state of complete separation.

All four subgroups followed this rank order exactly, except for the Northern Mariana Islands respondents. They reversed numbers one and two, preferring a federal to a unitary structure.

Table 25

Rank Order of Political Status Choices by Respondents to Political Survey by Island Group and for Entire Survey Sample

	Status Quo	Free Association	Common-wealth	U.S. Territory	Indepen-dence
Entire Sample	1	2	3	4	5
Mariana Islands	2	4	1	3	5
Yap Islands	2	1	3	4	5
Outer Islands	1	2	3	4	5
Truk	1	2	4	5	3

Table 26

Distribution of Scores Derived from Rankings of Alternative Constitution Forms by Respondents Political Attitude Survey

Form of Constitution	Distribution of Scores Assigned to Rankings of Choices 5	4	3	2	1	Mean Score	Median Score
Unitary	127	64	28	35	16	3.93	4.38
Federal	81	77	80	19	11	3.74	3.82
Confederation	54	64	85	39	25	3.31	3.32
Separate/ Cooperating[1]	28	38	53	111	40	2.64	2.36
Separation	11	9	25	33	192	1.57	1.20

[1]Involves setting up agencies to cooperate on common problems.

This result is interesting in view of the fact that the people of Yap, Truk, Ponope, and Kosrae all approved a constitution that falls somewhere between a federation and a confederation during the period that this study was in process. However, it should be emphasized that they were asked to approve or disapprove a specific constitution. They were not asked to choose between alternative types. As noted in chapter four, the people generally interpreted the referendum as a vote on the question of Micronesian unity. The public discussion rarely dealt with the specific features of the constitution.

The respondents generally had more difficulty understanding the alternative constitutions than in understanding the political status alternatives. On quesions of constitutional detail most Micronesians are inclined to accept the recommendation of the more educated members of the congress and the legislatures.

Actually many representatives to the constitutional convention from the four states that formed the Federated States of Micronesia indicated that they would have preferred a stronger central government in a federal structure. The constitution, as written, contained many concessions to the Palauan separatists, which were made in a vain attempt to induce them to remain in the fold of a unified Micronesia.

The Structure of Attitudes

The preceding discussion has given some indication of the anticipated structure of opinion. The method of factor analysis provided a way of identifying clusters of attitudes which are found to be intercorrelated. Having identified these clusters of interrelated attitudes, the task of analysis is to identify the common factor or underlying disposition, that creates the interrelationship

As stated above, there were eighty-three items in the political attitude survey. Ten of these were the five possible political statuses and the five forms of constitution which the respondents were asked to rank. Seventy-three items consisted of statements which called for a response expressing agreement or disagreement on a four point scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree, with "no opinion" given a zero value.

These seventy-three items were subdivided into two groups, those which constituted policy proposals and those that were evaluative statements about various groups or entities. Each group was factor analyzed, separately, providing two distinct sets of factors. It was considered that these should be analytically separated. The former are of a kind that are commonly referred to as "opinions," dealing with specific and concrete choices among alternatives. There were thirty-five items in this category. The latter are more general, being limited to positive or negative predispositions towards classes of persons or objects. There were thirty-eight items in this category. At the same time, it is expected that there would be linkages and interdependency between these two categories. Items with unusually high concensus, apparently resulting from the innocuousness of the item, were eliminated from both categories. Items which were found, on analysis, not to load on any factor were also dropped, subsequently. The final list in the first set (policy items) was thus reduced to twenty-six items; with thirty-four in the second set (attitudes toward others).

Factor analysis is a data reduction method. It reduces many variables into a few composite variables and, thus, reduces the number of relationships that require analysis and explanation. The same set of data can be subjected to any number of possible factor solutions that can be equally justified in theory.

The kind of approach taken depends on the assumptions of the analyst. The kind of factor solution, selected for use in this instance, is based on the oblique rotation of factors. Stated simply, the oblique rotation is appropriate when interdependence of the factors is assumed. It would not be appropriate if it were assumed that the factors were independent (uncorrelated). It is definitely assumed that the underlying factors in the political attitudes of Micronesians (for example, attitudes towards the United States and attitudes toward Micronesian autonomy) are intercorrelated.

Factor Set I

As indicated above, among the eighty-three items on the survey questionnaire, twenty-six items were ultimately used which represented statements about desirable government policy. Respondents were asked to indicate the extent of their agreement or disagreement. The factors derived from this set of items are identified as factor set I.

After experimenting with large numbers of factors, seeking to eliminate those that were of limited weight or redundant, it seemed that a five factor solution would be most meaningful.

The factors derived from this analysis are illustrated in table 27, below, which lists under each factor heading all of these variables which load significantly on the factor. The factor headings are selected as most descriptive of the nature of the factors, based on the inferred relationship (or common element) among the component variables. In table 27, the variables (survey items) are reduced to brief phrases, conveying their substances.

The first three factors are closely related. All have to do with economic development, yet each has a unique emphasis. Some variables

Table 27

Factor Set I, Derived from Thirty-Five Political Policy Statement Responses*

Factor 1			Factor 2		
Item	Self-sufficiency	Loading	Item	Government Authority	Loading
39	Encourage Foreign Investment	.56964	53	Control Pollution	.63479
64	Decentralize Government	.46463	51	Land Zoning	.57599
40	Tax Imports More	.44634	17	Charge for Utilities	.38065
74	Share Revenues	.43486	11	Eminent Domain	.35838
79	Constitutional Role/Chief	.34483	52	Land Use Planning	.31176
36	Hold Wage Levels	.32374	38	Charge Service Costs	.24536
32	Promote Vocational Skills	.27031			

Factor 3			Factor 4		
Item	Economic Development	Loading	Item	Laissez Faire	Loading
38	Charge Service Costs	.59504	12	Encourage Foreign Investment	.40668
37	Cut Govt. Employment	.50343	15	Permit Slot Machines	.38489
82	Approve Oil Superport	.42461	61	Prohibit Foreign Competition	-.38489
36	Hold Wage Levels	.40224	76	Prohibit Alcohol Sale/Use	-.39310
51	Land Zoning	.28818	18	Treat Marijuana as Crime	-.36567
53	Control Pollution	-.27976	21	Charge for Medical Serv.	-.29364
			38	Charge for Govt. Serv.	-.24568

Factor 5		
Item	Government Paternalism	Loading
24	Public Housing	.70677
22	Guarantee Jobs	.59591
66	Teach Vernacular	.37528
16	Public Employee Strikes	.32203
52	Land Use Planning	.25628
61	Prevent Foreign Competition	.24876

*Includes only those variables which load significantly on each factor.

that load high on one do not load at all on the others. For example, the item dealing with land zoning in factor 2 has a minus loading on factor one. The common theme in the first group is self-sufficiency, while factor two includes all those items which express approval of a strong hand for government, in controlling conditions of life.

Factor three is the only factor on which the proposal for an oil transshipment "superport" leads significantly. Interestingly, the pollution control item has a negative loading on this factor. This shows a general consistency in responses, since environmental control conflicts with the kind of economic development represented by the Palau superport proposal. The probable environmental effects is the major issue raised in opposition to the superport.

Table 28 shows the percentage of common variance in the data accounted for by each of the five factors. The term "common variance" refers to the variance that is theoretically related or attributable to the five factors. It does not include "unique variance" in each variable, that which is unrelated to the factors.

Table 28

Factor Set I: The Percent of Common Variance in Survey Items Accounted for by each of Five Factors

Factor	Percent of Variance	Cumulative Percent
1	40.2	40.2
2	23.3	63.5
3	17.4	80.9
4	10.4	91.6
5	8.4	100.0

It can be seen that the first three factors are the most important, accounting for 80 percent of the variance accounted for by all of the factors.

Only factors 1 and 5 were found to correlate to an appreciable degree (r=.38843). The correlations between each pair of factors are shown in table 29.

Table 29

Factor Set I: Factor Correlation Matrix

Factor	1	2	3	4	5
1	1.00000	.11133	.06668	-.15434	.38843
2	.11133	1.00000	.06901	.07144	-.01494
3	.06668	.06901	1.00000	.18513	-.14501
4	-.15435	-.07144	.18513	1.00000	-.19131
5	.38843	-.01494	-.14501	-.19131	1.00000

It is somewhat surprising, at least on the surface, to see the moderately high positive correlation between factor one, which is labelled "self-sufficiency" and factor five, which is labelled "government paternalism." There is some apparent conflict between the concepts of self-sufficiency and paternalism. It is possible that both factors represent parts of an attitude syndrome that does include some contradictory themes.

The variable "encouraging foreign investment," with the highest loading on factor 1, clearly conflicts with the variable "prohibiting foreign competition," which loads moderately on factor five. There is,

however, a great deal of a strong government theme in both factors. There is also a general theme that government activity has its justification in benefit to the people. In factor one, the emphasis is on long-range benefits, even at the cost of short term gains. This is illustrated by the high loadings on keeping wage levels down and taxing imports, both for the sake of economic self sufficiency. The variables with high loadings on factor five concern more or less immediate benefits.

There is an element of local autonomy and traditionalism in both factors. The concept that the central government should share the revenues with the states (as being advocated by the Marshallese) loads high on factor one. In addition, the proposals that responsibility for government, and the funds to maintain it, should be decentralized to the local (municipal) government and that there should be a role for traditional chiefs in the new constitution loads on both factors (though very moderately on factor five).

Factor Set II

The factor analysis of the set of thirty-four items measuring dispositions towards other groups and entities, like the analysis of policy items, resulted in a five factor solution.

Table 30 identifies these five factors derived from this set of survey items. Only those variables that load significantly on each factor are included in table 30. As in factor set I, the factor headings indicate the apparent nature of each factor on the basis of the variables which load significantly on it.

In order to avoid confusion between factor sets in the subsequent analysis of their interrelationships, factors in set II are designated as factors 1a, 2a, etc.

Table 30

Factor Set II, Derived from Thirty-Four Survey Statement Responses Pertaining to Attitudes Concerning Other Groups and Entities

Factor 1a			Factor 2a		
Item	Micronesian Autonomy	Loading	Item	Status Quo	Loading
29	(P)Micronesian Congress Concern	.53132	60	(P)U.S. Economic Support	.56651
65	(P)Traditional Society Democratic	.46733	68	(P)Traditional Woman's Role	.49410
63	(N)Administration Concern	.44324	34	(P)Micronesian Qualifications	.44267
55	(P)Micronesian Unity	.43661	62	(P)Subsistency Economy	.37555
72	(N)Micronesian Freedom of Choice	.40818	23	(P)Education System	.33813
70	(N)Traditional Authority	.40030	57	(N)Local Finance	.28909
69	(P)Micronesian Self-support	.39555	59	(P)Political Status Quo	.28127
28	(N)United States Dependency	.36273	45	(N)Americans Job Interest	-.30931
56	(P)Micronesian Common Interest	.37553	80	(P)Self-support Possible	-.22009
80	(P)Self-support Possible	.34177			
71	(N)Representative Apportionment	.32739			
46	(N)Elected Leaders' Concern	-.27842			

Factor 3a			Factor 4a		
Item	Political Efficacy	Loading	Item	Pro Americanism	Loading
29	(P)Micronesian Congress Concern	.28408	20	(N)American's Understanding	-.49796
47	(N)Micronesian Leaders	-.51221	26	(N)Relevance of Education	-.47853
45	(N)American Job Interest	-.48358	28	(N)Dependency on U.S.	-.35429
44	(N)Peace Corps Example	-.47291	35	(N)Legislatures vs. Congress	-.46714
46	(N)Elected Leaders	-.45937	80	(P)Self-support Possible	-.40960
19	(N)U.S. Military Base	-.40709	43	(N)Americans' Qualifications	-.28643
57	(N)Local Finance	-.36401	14	(N)United States Concern	-.24684
25	(N)American's Interest	-.27333	62	(P)Subsistence Economy	-.23681

Factor 5a			
Item	Anti Americanism	Loading	
43	(N)American Qualifica.	.59463	(N)=a negative evaluative statement
27	(N)Japanese Admin. vs. American	.43195	
45	(N)Americans' Job Int.	.39920	(P)=a positive evaluative statemnet
72	(N)Micro. Freedom of Choice	-.24245	

An analysis of factor 1a suggests that the common element in the variables that load high on this factor is a favorable disposition towards Micronesian autonomy. The responses represented by these variables generally reflect positive attitudes towards the Micronesian Congress, the traditional society of Micronesia, Micronesian unity, living standards that will prevail under self-government, and the possibility of becoming self-supporting. An item which showed a negative loading on this factor was an unfavorable comment on Micronesian elected leaders.

Variables consisting of negative statements about the administration, Micronesia's dependence on the United States, the consequences of United States policy on Micronesian freedom of choice, and the United States' motives underlying policy all loaded moderately high on this factor.

This combination of positive attitudes towards Micronesian leaders and the prospects of economic independence with negative attitudes towards the administration, dependency, and policies which foster dependency suggests that a favorable disposition towards Micronesian autonomy is the underlying attitude dimension represented by factor 1a.

Factor 1a scores show a low positive correlation with political independence as a status choice and a moderate positive correlation with the free association choice (r=.26256). Free association can be viewed as an interim status towards ultimate independence, the realist's alternative to immediate independence. This correlation is consistent with the interpretation of factor 1a as representing a predisposition towards Micronesian autonomy.

Factor 2a presents some problems of interpretation. The terms U.S. dependence, traditionalism, conservatism, and status quo all come

to mind as descriptive labels. The highest loading is on the item which states that there is no need for Micronesia to be self-supporting as long as the political association with the United States lasts. Does this mean that dependency on the United States is viewed as a most satisfactory situation?

Supporting this interpretation is a moderate positive loading on the item which constitutes a favorable judgment on the United States educational effort in Micronesia, a negative loading on an adverse judgment on the Americans' job interest, and a low negative loading on the judgment that it is possible for Micronesia to become self-supporting in ten to fifteen years.

On the other hand, the other high loadings are on positive judgments on the qualifictions of Micronesians and on the likely persistence of Micronesian traditions, represented by the women's role and subsistence agriculture. This factor could represent a general attitude of conservatism about change or an acceptance of the status quo. This interpretation is supported by the moderate positive loading of the item which consists of a statement that the people are being rushed into a decision on their future status before they are ready to make a choice.

The attitude towards U.S. dependency may represent an acceptance of the continuance of the United States umbrella as a necessary condition for the preservation of a Micronesian life style. This interpretation has the advantage of reconciling the variables which suggest U.S. dependency and those that stress Micronesian qualifications and tradition. Both can be incorporated by the term "status quo."

This interpretation is reinforced by the fact that factor 2a correlates positively but moderately with a preference for commonwealth

status (r=.22893). This status is one of permanent political association with the United States. On the other hand, it shows a low negative correlation with the status of U.S. territory, which is a closer form of permanent association. It correlates negatively with political independence (r=-.16369) and is uncorrelated with other status choices.

Factor 3a can be labelled trust in government or, more broadly, trust in authority. All but one of the moderate to high loadings on this factor are negative loadings. These variables with negative loadings are items which consist of negative statements about various politically relevant groups or entities (e.g., the administration). In other words, these negative loadings represent rejection of negative attitudes expressed about these others. The only significant positive loading on this factor was an item consisting of a positive statement about the Congress of Micronesia.

This factor clearly represents a general attitude of trust towards authority, since it reflects just as positive an orientation towards Americans (administration and peace corps) as towards Micronesians.

Factor 4a seems clearly to consist of a favorable disposition towards the United States. All moderate to high loadings on this factor are negative. These reflect a rejection of negative statements about the United States, its performance in Micronesia, and its motives. Statements that a self-supporting Micronesia is possible and that there will always be a subsistence economy in Micronesia also load negatively on this factor.

Factor 5a is the opposite of 4a and reflects a negative evaluation of the United States and Americans in Micronesia. Variables consisting of unfavorable statements about Americans exhibit moderate to high positive loadings on this factor. On the other hand, the statement that

American policy has deprived Micronesians of a real choice concerning their future status loads negatively on factor 5a. Given the clearly anti-American content of most of the variables that load on this factor, it can be assumed that this negative loading is not a rejection of the implied criticism of the United States policies. It is a rejection of the suggestion that Micronesians do not, in fact, have a choice, concerning their future.

Table 31 shows the percentage of the common variance in the data accounted for by each of the factors in factor set II.

Table 31

Factor Set II, the Percent of Common Variance in Survey Items Accounted for by Each of the Five Factors

Factor	Percent of Variance	Cumulative Percent
1a	49.2	49.2
2a	21.6	70.8
3a	12.5	83.2
4a	8.9	92.2
5a	7.8	100.0

As shown above, factor 1a accounts for nearly one-half of the common variance accounted for by all five of the factors. The first three factors together account for 83 percent of the total variance.

The correlations between each pair of factors in factor set II are shown in table 32.

Table 32

Factor Set II: Factor Correlation Matrix

Factor	1a	2a	3a	4a	5a
1a	1.00000	.09853	-.17583	-.29788	.19440
2a	.09853	1.00000	-.24506	-.12756	-.10533
3a	-.17583	-.24506	1.00000	.26644	-.00257
4a	-.29788	-.12756	.26664	1.00000	-.06447
5a	.19440	-.10533	-.00257	-.06447	1.00000

As shown, there is a moderate positive correlation only between factors 3a and 4a. There were moderate negative correlations between factors 1a and 4a and between 2a and 3a.

Correlations Between Factors in Sets I and II

If there is generally little correlation between pairs of factors that make up factor sets I and II, there are significant correlations between the factors in set I and others in set II. Table 33 shows the paired correlations between each factor in set I and each factor in set II.

From the table, it can be seen that support for policies that generally strengthen government authority (factor 2, set I) does not correlate significantly with any of the factors in set II. Neither does a preference for policies of laissez faire, or permissiveness--factor 4--correlate with any factors in set II. Three factors in set 1, numbers 1, self-sufficiency; 3, economic development; and 5, government paternalism, all correlate with factors in set II.

Table 33

Correlations Between Paired Factors in Factor Sets I and II

Factor Set I (Policy Variables)		Factor Set II (Attitudes Towards Other Persons and Entities)				
		Factor				
		1a	2a	3a	4a	5a
Factor	Subject	Micronesian Autonomy	Status Quo	Trust in Authority	Pro-Americanism	Anti-Americanism
1	Self-Sufficiency	.34125	.50228	-.29677	-.36151	.38140
2	Governmental Authority	.07249	-.09990	-.13790	-.02939	.04803
3	Economic Development	.41768	.05848	.03824	.23642	.28051
4	Laissez Faire	.01491	-.19705	.19775	.04875	.10492
5	Government Paternalism	.23290	.41279	-.20290	-.25130	.05324

The most significant cluster among the two sets of factors, in terms of the strength of the association, consists of the three factors: number 1, self-sufficiency; number 5, government paternalism; and number 2a, status quo. The strength of the association is illustrated in table 34.

Table 34

Paired Correlations Among Three Factors in Factor Sets I and II

	Factor	Self Sufficiency	Government Paternalism	Status Quo
1	Self-Sufficiency	1.00000	.38843	.50288
5	Government Paternalism	.38843	1.00000	.41279
2a	Status Quo	.50228	.41279	1.00000

All of these correlate negatively with factor 4a, pro-Americanism and all except government paternalism correlate positively with factor 5a, anti-Americanism. All three of the above show a low to moderate negative correlation with factor 3a, although in the case of factor 2a, the correlation is quite low.

Only one other significant set of multiple correlations was derived from the data. This involves factor 3, economic development, which correlates positively with factor 1a, Micronesian autonomy, and factor 5a, anti-Americanism; and negatively with pro-Americanism. These correlations are shown in table 35.

Based on these multiple correlations, there are two combinations of attitudes that seemed to be associated. One combination consists of

Table 35

Paired Correlations among Four Factors in Sets I and II

	Factor	Economic Development	Micronesian Autonomy	Pro-Americanism	Anti-Americanism
3	Economic Development	1.00000	.41768	-.23642	.28051
1a	Micronesian Autonomy	.41768	1.00000	-.29788	.19440
4a	Pro-Americanism	-.23642	-.29788	1.00000	-.06447
5a	Anti-Americanism	.28051	.19440	.06447	1.00000

a favorable disposition towards policies that promote Micronesian self sufficiency (factor 1), a disposition to support paternalistic governmental activities (factor 5), and a conservative preference for the status quo (factor 2a). This combination of attitudes is weakly and negatively associated with trust in authority (factor 3a) and pro-Americanism (factor 4a). It is weakly and positively associated with anti-Americanism.

A desire to preserve the status quo and to maintain self sufficiency, combined with distrust of authority and anti-Americanism are suggestive of a parochial orientation towards the general political system. The disposition to favor government paternalism and the acceptance of dependency on the United States (associated with the status quo factor) are suggestive of a subject orientation.

The second combination consists of a favorable disposition towards policies which promote economic development (factor 3) and a predisposition for Micronesian autonomy. The attitude of support for economic development is not associated with the first three factors in the first combination but, like these other factors, it is associated positively with anti-Americanism and negatively with pro-Americanism.

The relatively high correlation between factor 3, economic development, and 1a, Micronesian autonomy, coupled with a near zero correlation with the status quo (factor 2a) and self sufficiency (factor 3) suggest a positive orientation towards change. It also suggests a belief that government can be an effective agent for change. These elements are consistent with a participant orientation towards the general political system. However, the economic development factor exhibits a near zero correlation with trust in authority, an important component of an effective participant orientation.

Cultural Differences and
and Factor Scores

From all that has been said in the foregoing pages, it is to be expected that differences among the four island groups in political attitudes will somehow relate to differences in stages of development and acculturation, as well as to inherent differences in native culture. It is also likely that important differences in attitudes will relate to differences in education and status within society.

How can differences in culture be measured? Shall culture be considered coterminous with place of residence? There are people of different cultures occupying the same islands. The most prominent examples among the islands in the survey are the Carolinians and Chamorros on Saipan and the Yapese and Palauans on Yap. On the other hand, the Trukese are culturally homogeneous as are the inhabitants of the outer islands of Yap, although there are some local cultural variations within each of these two island groups.

In the Mariana Islands sample of eighty respondents, there are nineteen Carolinians, slightly under 24 percent of the total. Having shared the island of Saipan with the numerically dominant Chamorros for up to 165 years, it could at least arguably be stated that the Carolinians are culturally closer to the Chamorros than they are to the inhabitants of the islands from which their ancestors migrated.

It could not be argued that the Palauans on Yap are, in any sense, closely akin to the Yapese in their culture. However, the eight Palauans in the Yap sample constitute only 16 percent of the total.

The variable "ethnic identity" would provide a better measure of cultural differences than the variable "island," since ethnic identity

distinguishes between Carolinians and Chamorros, Yapese and Palauans. However, using the ethnic identity variable to represent culture fragments, the sample to the point that some groups are too small to constitute a basis for generalizing from the sample to the population it represents.

For this reason, the variable "island" is used to represent the culture dimension, even though it is clearly a rough and imperfect representation.

There are twelve islands represented in the sample. To use each of these individual islands to represent the variable culture would be unrealistic, since they can be properly grouped into areas that are homogeneous in terms of culture, geography, and stages of development. The groupings of islands which provide the greatest degree of homogeneity follow:

Group No.	Islands
1	Ulithi, Woleai, other outer islands of Yap
2	Yap Islands
3	Nama, Losap, Pis-Losap, other outer islands of Truk
4	Moen, Nomoneas, Faichuk
5	Rota, Tinian
6	Saipan

The islands named in group 3 are those that constitute the "Upper Mortlocks." The "other islands" respondents in this group are almost entirely inhabitants of the islands of "Lower Mortlocks." The term "Nomoneas" and "Faichuk" both refer to groups of islands, all of

which are located in the Truk Lagoon. Moen, the administrative center, is part of the Nomoneas group but is separately listed as the "capital city" of Truk.

The islands of Rota and Tinian in group 5 can be considered "outer islands" of the Mariana Islands group although they are considerably more developed and less remote than islands so designated in other parts of Micronesia. They are quite undeveloped in comparison with Saipan.

By combining groups 3 and 4 and groups 5 and 6, it is possible to make comparisons on the basis of the four island groups of this study, representing the distinct political cultures. At the same time, it is possible to make separate comparisons between three groups of outer islands and three administrative center islands or island complexes, to see if there is an outer island difference within each cultural area.

As a means of comparing island groups on the basis of factor scores, the full range of factor scores for each factor was divided into decile ranges. These decile ranges were combined into five ranges, each representing 20 percent of the total range for the factor concerned.

Table 36 shows the comparison of factor score distributions among the island groups, in terms of the percentage of respondents in each island group in the top 40 percent of the range of the score for each factor. For Truk and the Northern Mariana Islands, percentages are shown separately for outer islands and administrative islands and for the island group as a whole.

In the foregoing pages, it was noted that the three factors of self sufficiency (1), government paternalism (5), and status quo (2a) are the most highly intercorrelated group of factors among the two factor

Table 36

Percentage of Respondents in each of the Four Island Groups in the Upper Forty Percent of the Range of Factor Scores, in Each of the Five Factors in the Two Factor Sets

No.	Factor	Yap Islands	Yap O.I.	Truk Lagoon	Truk O.I.	Total Truk	Saipan	Rota Tinian	Total N.M.I.
	(Set No. 1)								
1	Self Sufficiency	26.0	38.7	51.1	43.4	49.1	34.5	40.9	36.3
2	Government Authority	42.0	25.0	25.6	46.7	28.4	65.5	59.1	63.8
3	Economic Development	36.0	29.5	37.2	73.3	46.6	36.2	45.4	38.8
4	Laissez Faire	28.0	29.6	40.7	43.3	41.4	43.9	68.2	51.3
5	Government Paternalism	4.0	38.6	55.8	63.3	57.8	36.2	36.4	36.3
	(Set No. 2)								
1a	Micronesian Autonomy	50.0	38.6	31.4	73.3	42.2	32.8	22.7	30.0
2a	Status Quo	32.0	45.5	47.7	70.0	53.4	20.7	31.8	23.8
3a	Trust in Authority	44.0	41.0	36.0	23.4	32.8	43.1	45.5	43.8
4a	Pro-Americanism	50.0	47.7	26.7	16.7	24.1	53.3	50.0	52.5
5a	Anti-Americanism	40.0	40.9	39.5	50.0	42.2	34.5	59.1	41.3
	N =	50	44	86	30	116	58	22	80

Total N = 290 In all cases $P < .01$.

sets. It is interesting to note that Truk is not only the highest on all three factors, but is substantially higher on these factors than the three other island groups. The differences are particularly marked with respect to factors 1 and 5.

It is also interesting to note that Truk is substantially lower than any of the other island groups on the factors of trust in authority (3a) and pro-Americanism (4a), both of which showed moderate to high negative correlations with the factors of self sufficiency, government paternalism, and status quo. (Truk is also highest on anti-Americanism, but the differences between the island groups on this factor are quite trivial.)

If the attitudes encompassed in these three highly intercorrelated factors represent a common attitude syndrome, it is preeminently a Trukese syndrome. Is it a reflection of Trukese culture? Two circumstances give support to the assumption that it is a reflection of the culture.

As pointed out in chapter seven, there is so much similarity of language and culture between the Trukese and the peoples of the outer islands of Yap that it must be concluded that they originally entered the area as one people. Therefore, if native culture is a determinant of current political attitudes in Micronesia and if this attitude is a reflection of culture, it could be expected that the peoples of the outer islands of Yap would most nearly resemble the Trukese with respect to this set of attitudes.

This expectation is born out in table 36. While the Trukese score highest on each of the three highly intercorrelated factors, discussed above, the people of the outer islands of Yap are second highest in each case. Furthermore, on those factors of trust in authority and

pro-Americanism, where Truk has the lowest percentage in the upper 40 percent of the range for the total sample, the outer islands of Yap have the second lowest percentage. However, the outer islands are not a strong second; their distribution of scores is closer to that of the rest of the sample, on those last two factors, than to that of Truk.

The other circumstance which lends support to the assumption that differences among island groups reflect differences in culture is the comparison between the outer islands of Truk and the Truk Lagoon islands. If these factor scores reflect cultural differences, it is to be expected that the outer islands will reflect the traditional culture more closely than the more developed and acculturated lagoon islands and that this difference will be reflected in factor scores. This expectation is born out.

In all of the above discussed factors, in which Truk is either the highest or lowest, with one exception, the outer islands of Truk occupy the extreme position among all of the islands in the sample. The one exception is factor 1, self sufficiency, with respect to which the Truk lagoon islands occupy the highest position. The outer islands of Truk occupy the second highest position. On the factors of government paternalism (5) and status quo (2a), the outer islands of Truk are substantially higher than the Truk Lagoon. Conversely, on the factors of trust in authority (3a) and pro-Americanism (4a), where Truk is lowest among the island groups, the outer islands of Truk are substantially lower than the lagoon islands.

Table 37 summarizes the rankings of the three culturally related island groups of Truk Lagoon, the outer islands of Truk, and the outer

islands of Yap among the six island groups created by separating outer islands from main (administrative center) islands.

Table 37

Rankings of the Three Culturally Related Island Groups of the Truk Lagoon, the Outer Islands of Truk, and the Outer Islands of Yap, Out of Six Island Groups on Five Interrelated Factor Score Distributions

		Rank Order Among Six Island Groups		
	Factor	Truk Lagoon	Truk Outer Islands	Yap Outer Islands
1	Self Sufficiency	1	2	4
5	Government Paternalism	2	1	3
2a	Status Quo	2	1	3
3a	Trust in Authority	5	6	4
4a	Pro-Americanism	5	6	4

It is clear from table 37 that, with one minor exception, these three island groups monopolize either the higher or lower end of the distribution on each of these five factors. If these five factors reflect a basic core of shared traditional culture, then it is clear that the outer islands of Truk reflect it most completely, followed, in order, by the Truk Lagoon islands and the outer islands of Yap.

Other Culture-Factor Relationships

The Mariana Islands group was highest on the factors of government authority (2), laissez faire--or permissiveness (4), and pro-Americanism (4a), with more than 50 percent of the respondents in the upper 40 percent of the range of scores for each of these factors. With

respect to factor 2, government authority, the Mariana Islands group was substantially higher than any others, with nearly 64 percent in the upper 40 percent of the range.

The Mariana Islands group was the lowest on the factors of the status quo (2a) and the Micronesian autonomy (1a).

It is not difficult to explain the rankings of the Mariana Islands group with respect to these factors. Their plebescite in favor of permanent association with the United States is a rejection of both Micronesian autonomy and the status quo. It would be strange, indeed, if they did not rank below those more traditional islands, that have worked for greater political autonomy, on these factors.

The especially strong predisposition of the Mariana Islands group to support strong government authority (factor 2), with respect to such areas as pollution control, eminent domain, and land use planning and zoning, shows their awareness of the relationship between these authorities and controlled development. They are not only more committed to development than the other islands; they have experienced it to a much greater degree and can more readily understand these relationships.

The relatively high range of scores of the Mariana Islands group on the factor laissez faire (4) is also consistent with their goals. The highest loading on this factor is that of the variable "encouraging foreign investment," while "prohibiting foreign competition" has a rather high negative loading. Other high loadings are items involving "permitting slot machines" (for revenue) and "prohibiting the sale or use of alcohol" (a negative loading) and treating the use of marijuana as a crime (also negative).

Saipan is the only island on which the use of slot machines as a tourist attraction has been an issue. The same considerations which induce some Mariana Islands residents to support legalizing slot machines would also induce them to oppose the prohibition of the sale and use of alcohol. The latter item loads negatively on this factor, as does the treating of marijuana use as a crime.

The more traditional people of the other islands tend to look on these practices (commercial gambling, alcoholic beverages, and marijuana) as corrupting, alien influences. The idea of simply prohibiting that which is harmful is consistent with the traditional concept of authority. As noted earlier, Truk did enact a prohibition law in 1977.

The relatively high trust in authority and willingness to give authority to government, exhibited by the Mariana Islands group, are indicative of the kind of positive orientation towards the political system one would expect to find in a participant political culture. If they are not conclusive, they do indicate more fertile soil for a participant culture than is found in a situation of low trust, as in Truk.

The Yap islands respndents were highest on the factors of Micronesian autonomy (1a) and trust in authority (3a). They were lowest in self sufficiency (1), government paternalism (5), laissez faire (4), and anti-Americanism (5a).

Excluding the outer islands of Truk, the Yapese were substantially higher than the other island groups on the factor of Micronesian autonomy. This is quite consistent with the Yapese traditional resistance to change and acculturation.

Yapese independence is quite evident in their low score on factor 5, government paternalism. Their scores are so low that they put

them in a class by themselves. Only 4 percent of the Yapese were in the upper 40 percent of the range of scores on this factor. The group with the next lowest percent in that range was the Saipan subgroup of the Mariana Islands group with 36.2 percent in the upper 40 percent of the range.

It might be assumed that the Yapese would be high on self sufficiency, a factor on which they are actually the lowest. To understand this distribution, it is necessary to go beyond the label on this factor. The highest loading on this factor is the variable encouraging foreign investment. It loads high because foreign investment can provide greater economic independence from the United States, although the factor refers to self sufficiency in more than just an economic sense. The Yapese have always strongly resisted proposals for foreign economic investment. Consistent with their resistance to acculturation, they rank lower on factor 3, economic development, than all of the others except the outer islands of Yap.

It is interesting to note that the Yapese desire for autonomy and resistance to change is not a negative quality. It is not expressive of hostility towards the United States nor the Trust Territory administration. In fact, as noted, Yap is lowest on the factor of anti-Americanism (though differences are slight), second only to the Mariana Islands on pro-Americanism, and highest of the four island groups on the factor of trust in authority.

This is not to say that the Yapese are particularly high on these qualities, although they are the highest of the groups under study. They are certainly not low on these traits. Their greater desire for

autonomy and preservation of their life style, which distinguishes the Yapese from the other main islands, cannot be attributed to negative feelings towards either the Trust Territory or the United States.

The respondents from the outer islands of Yap were not the highest, in terms of score distributions, on any of the factors. As noted above, their distributions of scores on self sufficiency (1), government paternalism (5), and status quo (2a) are most similar (and second) to those of Truk. On the factors of laissez faire (4), trust in authority (3a), and pro- and anti-Americanism (4a and 5a), they are most similar to the Yapese. It was suggested that the similarity between the outer islanders and the Trukese on one combination of factor scores is a reflection of their close cultural relationship. Perhaps the factors in which they resemble the Yapese reflect that which they have in common, namely the fact that these two groups are the most traditional, i.e. closest to their original cultures.

The factors on which the outer islanders are the lowest of the island groups are those of government authority (2) and economic development (3). These distributions suggest that this least acculturated island group generally wishes to remain so.

A relatively low ranking on the factor of laissez faire, as noted before, reflects a rejection of alien influences (foreign investment, casino gambling, marijuana, and alcohol[4]). The fact that the more traditional societies are more favorably disposed towards the United States

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[4]Ulithians, for example, are quite ambivalent about alcohol. The importation of alcoholic beverages for sale is prohibited in Ulithi. On the other hand, it can be brought by an individual, legally, for his personal use or for hosting his friends. It is normally offered to the assembled males at public gatherings and feasts.

could be because they expect less from the United States than do the peoples of the Mariana Islands and Truk. The outer islanders and, to a lesser extent, the Yapese have been able to preserve their life styles under the United States strategic umbrella, while enjoying certain economic advantages in the bargain.

Factor Scores and Education

As indicated at the beginning of this section, the analysis is concerned with the association between political attitudes and culture, education, age, and sex. In the preceding pages, the association between political attitudes and culture has been explored. It has been found that there are significant differences in the distribution of politically relevant attitudes among the islands in the sample and these appear to be reflections of cultural differences.

As noted in chapter four, since 1962 the Trust Territory government has undertaken a program of mass education, including mass higher education, on a scale that is probably unprecedented in colonial administration. Thousands of Micronesians have attended colleges in the United States.

Along with this change has come a new set of institutions, employing in excess of 8,000 Micronesians, more than half of the wage earners in Micronesia. These institutions have introduced a wide range of new statuses, as well as money incomes. Access to these statuses and incomes is heavily dependent on success in the new educational system and assimilation of the new values associated with it.

Micronesians who have grown up since 1962 have grown up in a world that is radically altered. Is it not to be expected that there

will be significant differences in political attitudes between those of young Micronesians who have been subjected to these massive efforts at induced cultural change and those older Micronesians who have not been so exposed?

A number of contingency tables were run to test the association between political attitudes, reflected in factor scores, and differences in age, sex, and education. Chi square values were used as the test of the significance of the association and the product-moment correlations (Pearson's r) as the measure of its strength.

By these tests, as well as by similar measures of differences on responses to individual survey items, there are no statistically significant differences in political attitudes associated with differences in sex in Micronesia.

The distribution of scores on four factors were found to be associated with differences in age to a degree that is both statistically significant and moderate to strong. Factor 1, self sufficiency; factor 5, government paternalism; and factor 2a, status quo, were found to be positively associated with age. Factor 4, laissez faire, was negatively and moderately associated with age.

These same factors were significantly associated with education, as was factor 2, government authority, and factor 3, economic development. With respect to factors 1, 5, and 2a, the association with education was negative. With respect to factor 4, it was positive. As can be seen, these relationships are the reverse of the association between age and factor scores. This reflects the fact, as noted in the discussion of voter participation (chapter ten), that there is a very strong inverse relationship between age and education in Micronesia.

Tables 38 and 39 show the chi square values, the product moment correlations, and the significance levels of each with respect to the association between age and education, respectively.

As can be noted from these tables, two factors are unassociated with either age or education. These are Micronesian autonomy (1a) and anti-Americanism (5a). It has previously been noted that differences between island cultures with respect to the latter factor are quite trivial. Anti-Americanism appears to be randomly distributed among the populations of Micronesia.

The factors of trust in authority (3a) and pro-Americanism (4a) are associated with education but the association is extremely weak.

The factors which have the strongest association with education are government paternalism (5) and status quo (2a), and both associations are negative. Factor 1, self sufficiency, is also negatively associated with education to a moderate, but statistically significant, degree. These three were the factors on which the island cultures were most sharply differentiated.

If these and other factors are associated with both cultural and educational differences, how do these influences interact? Does education tend to reduce the influence of culture? To answer this question, a comparison was made between islands, controlled for education.

To avoid fragmenting the sample too much, education levels are collapsed into three ranges covering: (1) from zero through nine years of formal schooling, (2) ten through twelve years, and (3) thirteen years and above.

For this comparison, island groups were regrouped to maximize the culture-factor score relationship. For example, on factors 1, 5,

Table 38

Chi Square (X^2) Values and Correlations (Pearson's r), with Significance Levels, Measuring Associations between Factor Score Distributions and Age Among Micronesian Respondents to the Political Attitude Survey

Factor	Association Between Factor Score Distribution and Age			
	X^2	Significance	r	Significance
(Set I)				
1	31.8744	.0447	.20438	.0002
2	35.1873	.0191	.05517	.1746
3	33.7428	.0279	-.08935	.0645
4	45.2668	.0010	-.13217	.0122
5	27.4798	.1223	.18133	.0010
(Set II)				
1a	18.6917	.5419	.00667	.4550
2a	35.6061	.0171	.23332	.0000
3a	22.7143	.3030	-.07961	.0882
4a	36.5867	.0131	.09405	.0550
5a	21.87491	.3473	-.03452	.2785

Table 39

Chi Square (X^2) Values and Correlations (Pearson's r), with Significance Levels, Measuring Associations between Factor Score Distributions and Education among Micronesian Respondents to the Political Attitude Survey

Factor	Association Between Factor Score Distribution and Eduation			
	r	Significance	4	Significance
(Set 1)	44.5587			
1	44.5587	.0013	-.15377	.0044
2	51.9455	.0001	.23173	.0000
3	34.6918	.0128	.14946	.0054
4	34.69112	.0218	.13593	.0103
5	45.99934	.0008	-.36709	.0000
(Set II)				
1a	26.2135	.1589	.04753	.2189
2a	49.2534	.0003	-.32530	.0000
3a	38.7916	.0071	.04049	.2461
4a	38.8873	.0069	.04425	.2017
5a	27.2377	.1287	.01155	.4224

and 1a, the islands of Truk were distinguished by their high factor score distribution and the Yap islands were distinguished by their low score distribution. The Mariana Islands and the outer island of Yap occupied the middle range (table 36). Thus, the latter two groups were combined as group 1. The Yap islands were called group 2, and all of the islands of Truk, combined, constituted group 3. Under this regrouping of the education and island variables, contingency tables were run on factor score, by island, controlled for education range.

On factors 2, 4, and 4a, the Mariana Islands had the high score distribution and on factor 2a, the low distribution. On factor 3, Truk was high and on factor 4, Truk was low. On these factors, the islands of Yap and the outer islands of Yap were quite similar in their score distributions. On factor 3a, Truk was low, while all of the others clustered in a rather narrow range. So on all of these factors, the Mariana Islands were grouped together as group 1, Yap and the outer islands of Yap were combined as group 2, and the islands of Truk were group 3. Contingency tables, based on this grouping of islands, were run on factor scores by island by education.

The results of these analyses of variance on all eight of these factors are summarized in table 40.

It can be seen at a glance that the association between culture and factor score distribution tends to break down when controlled for difference in education. It is significant that in six of the eight factors, the correlation between culture and factor score remains both statistically significant and moderately high to high in the grade zero to nine group. With respect to factors 5, 1a, and 4a, the relationship holds

Table 40

Association Between Factor Score Distributions and Culture (Island) When Controlled for Education, A Summary of Chi Square(X^2) Values and Correlations (Pearson's r)

	Education Levels											
	Grades 0 thru 9				Grades 10 thru 12				Grades 13 +			
Factor	X^2	Signif-icance	r	Signif-icance	X^2	Signif-icance	r	Signif-icance	X^2	Signif-icance	r	Signif-icance
1	21.22	.0066	.32607	.0001	9.369	.3121	.14066	.0793	16.12	.0407	-.08485	.2457
5	40.24	.0000	.22498	.0067	17.33	.0268	.18615	.0305	8.37	.3983	.15660	.1011
1a	18.71	.0165	-.21970	.0080	14.50	.0695	.27750	.0024	8.30	.5992	.05638	.3240
2	24.54	.0019	-.32712	.0001	14.38	.0723	-.24955	.0057	16.77	.0326	-.41235	.0002
3	14.16	.0778	-.03447	.3543	9.33	.3152	.13076	.0951	12.33	.1370	-.09616	.2177
4	15.59	.0487	.04284	.3211	4.47	.8124	-.11246	.1302	9.85	.2760	-.12393	.1570
2a	15.95	.0431	.29629	.0005	7.43	.4907	.24518	.0065	8.09	.4250	.07024	.2846
4a	23.96	.0023	-.32427	.0002	19.84	.0109	-.35656	.0001	5.87	.6621	.05906	.3162

up for the grade ten to twelve group but not for the group in the highest education range. The association remains both statistically significant and realtively strong through all three education ranges only with respect to factor 2, support for government authority.

With respect to support for government authority, the relationship between culture and factor score distribution is actually stronger in the above high school range. This is not surprising. It is a trait in which the Mariana Islands group stands out. The people of the Mariana Islands are committed to development and are willing to support giving government the authority to acquire land for development, to control pollution, to plan land usage, and to control private land use through zoning. No doubt the relationship between these measures and development are clear to more of those in the highest levels of education than those with less education.

Summary

In conclusion, it is clear that political attitudes among Micronesians are not randomly related but are organized into patterns that are meaningful in terms of common predispositions towards important political objects. It is also clear that significant differences in these attitude structures exist between islands and island groups or cultural areas.

The most common attitude structure combines support for Micronesian self sufficiency with similar support for government paternalism and the preservation of the status quo. This structure also includes negative predispositions towards Americans and the United States and low trust in authority.

This attitude syndrome is most characteristic of the Trukese. The combination of self sufficiency and status quo orientations with low

trust in authority and anti-Americanism are indicative of parochialism. The unusually strong support for government paternalism is indicative of a subject orientation. These elements taken together are indicative of a subject-parochial political culture.

The traditional Yapese independence, or resistance to externally induced change, is evident in the attitude structure which was most common among the Yapese in the sample. They were substantially higher than the other groups on Micronesian autonomy and extremely low on government paternalism. On the other hand, they were highest on trust in authority and a close second to the Mariana Islands on pro-Americanism. This indicates that their attitude of independence is not a negative response to attempts at external control but a positive desire to remain as they are. Their trust in authority may be associated with a general perception of authority as benevolent in the native Yapese culture. Their lack of support for enlarging the role of the central government in dealing with problems of development or in providing more benefits is indicative of a parochial political culture. There is certainly no suggestion of subject orientations towards the general political system.

The responses of the Mariana Islands group are distinguished by greater support for government authority (though rejecting governmental paternalism) and pro-Americanism. They are low in status quo orientations and support for Micronesian autonomy. They are high on trust in authority, if not highest. This trust, combined with support for government's role in promoting development, shows an awareness that there are costs involved in development. It also shows positive orientations toward the general political system, a characteristic of the participant orientation.

Whatever the differences in political attitude structure among the island groups, it is clear that education is tending to reduce these differences. The young educated Micronesian is more likely to have trust in government authority, concern for development, and a willingness to pay the price of development. It is also clear that the influence of education has a long way to go. Looking at the population as a whole, culture based differences are still quite pronounced.

CHAPTER XIII

CONCLUSION

Summary

How have the people of Micronesia adapted to "strong externally imposed pressures for political-cultural change"? This was the question asked at the beginning of this report. It was anticipated that there would be both similarities and differences in the character of these adaptations among the island groups studied.

The differences were expected to relate to differences in native cultures and in relative stages of development and acculturation. As noted in chapter one, Riggs and others have found that political behavior in transitional societies tends to be modern in form but traditional in substance. It was naturally anticipated that the traditional content of political behavior would be more evident in the more traditional (i.e., less acculturated) island groups and less evident in the more developed island groups.

Political culture, as defined, includes patterns of political interaction and political institutions, as well as systems of belief (attitudes, values, and opinions) about the political world.

The outer islands of Yap have experienced the least pressure for change and have changed the least of all of the islands studied.

It was expected that these islands would exhibit the characteristics of a parochial political culture. As defined by Almond and Verba, a parochial political culture is characterized by an absence of orientations towards the general political system. Since these islands are the recipients of certain benefits from the central government, it was also expected that they might exhibit a degree of "subject orientation." Thus, they would show some degree of positive orientation toward the general political system, particularly on the output side.

It was anticipated that the other island groups would also exhibit the kinds of orientations towards the political system associated with a parochial political culture to the extent that they had retained their traditional cultures.

Renshon's theory of political efficacy has possible explanatory significance for the persistence of parochial and subject orientations in a political system that stresses participation as a value. To reiterate Renshon's basic theory, political efficacy is associated with a sense of personal control over one's life space and a sense that the political sphere is relevant to personal control (political salience).

Since a parochial culture is, by definition, one which is characterized by an absence of orientations towards the general political system, it would follow that a "parochial" would not regard the political sphere as salient.

Furthermore, Micronesian cultures as analyzed by Gladwin and others, who were experimenting with projective techniques of the personality and culture school, are not conducive to a sense of personal control over one's life space. These cultures emphasize deference for authority,

obligation of the individual to the group, obedience, and avoidance. These values are inculcated by strong, group imposed and enforced sanctions. The personality that emerges from these studies, particularly Gladwin's, is strongly inhibited, distrustful of strong emotional attachments to others, and one who seeks safety in conformity and avoids attracting attention to himself.

If traditional Micronesian society tends to produce these traits of personality, it is easy to understand the difficulty of one raised in such a society in adapting to the role requirements of a participant political culture. The results of these personality and culture studies are thoroughly consistent with Renshon's concept of personal control as the basic precondition for a sense of political efficacy. Renshon's theory of personal control and political salience as the basis of political efficacy provides a conceptual link between such personality and culture studies at the micro-level and Almond and Verba's system level concepts of parochial, subject, and participant political cultures.

This present study, of course, cannot confirm explanations of Micronesian political behavior based on personality or motivation. Nor can it confirm the validity of the Almond and Verba classification of political culture. At least it can be said that the political attitudes and behavior of Micronesians, as observed and evaluated herein, is consistent with what would be expected on the basis of the personality and culture studies. It can also be said that the classification scheme employed by Almond and Verba is useful in describing and comparing the political subcultures observed.

In assessing the influence of traditional cultures in political attitudes and behavior, the relative degree of acculturation is an

important variable. Throughout this study, it has been stressed that important differences among the island groups in attitude and behavior are related to their relative degree of acculturation. This has been a useful concept. Most of the observed differences in behavior in the new political roles (e.g., voting, decision making) clearly reflect differences in acculturation. Some of the differences in attitude also clearly reflect relative degrees of acculturation. Others, just as clearly, do not. They represent inherent differences in native cultures. This is evident from the fact that the most and least acculturated groups do not occupy the polar positions of certain attitude dimensions.

There is an attitude syndrome which combines an attachment to Micronesian autonomy and traditions with a positive role for government in insuring the welfare of the people and an acceptance of dependency on the United States which is more characteristic of the Trukese than any other group. A part of this syndrome is a low sense of trust in government. While this latter element (low trust) may seem to be incompatible with the other elements, they are all consistent with what is know about traditional Trukese orientations towards authority.

It is significant that with respect to all of the elements of the attitude syndrome, except Micronesian autonomy, the outer islands of Yap rank just behind Truk. This is significant both because of the cultural kinship between these two island groups and because of the similarity in the results of the culture and personality studies in the two groups.

The people of the Yap Islands are higher than any other subgroup, except the outer islands of Truk, on the factor labelled Micronesian autonomy. In addition, Yap is so much lower than any other group

on the factor called government paternalism that they are in a class by themselves on this dimension. This relatively high rating on autonomy and extremely low rating on government paternalism are very consistent with the Yapese tradition of resistance to imposed change. The Yapese, on the other hand, along with the people of the Northern Mariana Islands, were high on trust in government.

The respondents of the Northern Mariana Islands generally differed in ways that would be expected. They are lower on Micronesian autonomy and on attachment to the status quo. Along with the Yapese, they are relatively high on trust in government. The people of the Northern Mariana Islands are more favorable to entrusting government with authority for land acquisition and pollution control. This reflects both the popular commitment to development and a recognition of the relationship between these measures and effective development. In general, the attitude dimensions on which the poeple of the Northern Mariana Islands were highest clearly reflect their greater acculturation.

While there are significant differences between the island groups on these factor scores, there is considerable overlap between the groups and considerable variation within each group, as one would expect.

On the factors on which Truk is high, the people of the outer islands of Truk score higher than those of the Truk Lagoon, except for factor one, self sufficiency. On three of these factors, the people of the outer islands of Truk were much higher than those of the lagoon. On the factor of trust in government, where Truk was lowest, the outer islands people of Truk are substantially lower than the lagoon people.

Where both education and culture (or ethnic identity) were associated with factor scores, they work in opposite directions. These

two findings, the differences associated with outer islands and those associated with education, indicate that culture based differences are influenced by education and economic development. However, differences between cultures are still pronounced. If this interpretation is correct, the process of change has a long way to go. Cultural differences are still considerable.

In the observation of the political behavior, it is clear that the political processes reflect traditional attitudes of deference towards authority, avoidance of conflict, and consensus decision making. It is also clear that traditional divisions in society and traditional rivalries are reflected in the competition for control over the new political systems.

The Yapese still dominate the politics of the states of Yap. Although the people of the outer islands resent this state of affairs, habits of deference to the Yapese are thoroughly ingrained. Traditional rivalries between outer islanders, particularly the Mortlockese, and the lagoon people are still strong and much in evidence in Trukese politics. Clan membership is still the most important political factor in Truk.

In the Northern Mariana Islands, ethnic rivalry is still a factor in the competition for power. Competition between islands and loyalty to the extended family are also important bases for political alignments. However, there is a tendency for the alignments of these forces to shift, giving some fluidity to the process of electoral competition.

In all of these islands, there is a recognition that political leadership requires some formal qualifications. To be well connected in

the society is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for political success. It is also necessary to demonstrate that one has experience and education that will equip him to deal with the problem of government.

Of the islands visited and surveyed, Micronesian traditional leaders are politically important only in Yap and the outer islands of Yap. There are no traditional leaders, as such, in the Northern Mariana Islands. They still exist in Truk but they are not serious rivals for power with the new elected leaders, except in a few local situations. They are respected in their own communities but they cannot control the votes of their followers, unless they can appeal to local loyalties.

The use of the term traditional leader has become somewhat confused even in the minds of the Micronesians. It is generally applied to the office of magistrate (or mayor), which is an elective position. These leaders are considered traditional because, at first, the local chief or a member of his family was elected. Even today, the incumbent is a traditional leader in the strictest sense, as often as not. Where he is a traditional leader, he is often not the highest ranking traditional leader in his area, according to traditional criteria. His qualifications and leadership style are those of traditional leaders in Micronesia, not those associated with leadership in the general political system.

Although the magistrate and council are considered the local government, they function more in the manner of interest group leaders. They are authorized to collect certain local taxes and they are paid a modest salary, which is subsidized by the legislature. In Yap, the district (now state) collects all of the taxes and the cost of municipal government is paid entirely by an appropriation of the legislature.

In the Mariana Islands, until the adoption of the commonwealth constitution, the municipalities had regular elective mayor council governments, unrelated to tradition. On Saipan, the most developed island, this government was comparable to that of a small town in the United States. The new constitution abolished the municipal government structure and converted the elective office of mayor to the role of spokesman and advisor to the governor. This could almost be said to be a reversion of the position of mayor to that of a "magistrate," as in other islands in Micronesia.

One of the most interesting features of Yapese politics has been the manner in which the Council of Magistrates (now called Council of Pilung) has been able to retain its position of influence, even though, for most of its existence, it had no official charter. Tradition is strong in Yap. These leaders can control the votes of their followers. The elected leaders find it expedient to show them respect, to keep them informed of developments, and to court their advice and support. Theoretically, they are stronger than ever. The new charter for the state of Yap gives them (along with the Council of Tamol) a veto over legislation, when it effects a matter of tradition.

In the outer islands of Yap, the traditional political system continues undisturbed. There are no elective positions in local government, only the hereditary chiefs, chosen in the hereditary manner. Except for service personnel (teachers and medical personnel) there is no other government continuously present. Contacts with the general political system are intermittent. The principal problems of government, land ownership, fishing rights, the organization of communal work, are decided in the traditional manner.

Looking Ahead

Political and economic change has come rapidly to the people of Micronesia. For most of the population, primary dependency on the traditional subsistence economy has given way to dependence on money incomes. Traditional institutions have largley been supplanted by new institutions. The trusteeship under which the people have lived for over thirty years is in the process of dissolution, with termination targeted for 1981. In advance of official termination, the people are already living in an interim state of self government under constitutions largely of their own devising. The hoped for unified Micronesian federation has dissolved into four separate entities.

While the conditions of political life have radically changed, political attitudes and behavior still reflect traditional norms.

In the years immediately ahead, the new leaders of Micronesia face difficult challenges. The greatest challenges are those faced by the leaders of the Federated States of Micronesia, which includes the states of Yap and Truk, among others.

The leaders of the Federated States of Micronesia have negotiated a compact of free association with the United States. It has yet to be ratified by a plebescite of the people and by the United States government and the United Nations. However, there is every reason to expect that it will be ratified.

When the compact goes into effect, it will be for a period of fifteen years. The levels of financial support which the new government will receive from the United States have been established. The level of guaranteed support declines at five year intervals during the life of the compact.

At the end of the fifteen-year period, the compact could possibly be renewed, the people could opt for political independence or for permanent association with the United States. However, there is no assurance that the options of renewal of the compact or permanent association with the United States will still be available.

The people of the Marshall Islands and Palau are in a different position. The United States has expressed a desire for the establishment of military bases in designated areas of these two island groups. In the Marshall Islands, the United States already has an important military installation, the Kwajalein missile test center. The Marshall Islands and Palau can rely on United States support as long as the United States retains military land in those islands.

The position of the Northern Mariana Islands is even more favorable from an economic point of view. They already have a significant and developing private economy, based on tourism. Their leaders speak of becoming self supporting but whether they do or do not, they will be a part of the United States and assured of continuing federal support.

The United States has stated that it has no plans for military land use in the Federated States of Micronesia. Should the United States elect to terminate the association at the end of the period of the compact, the leaders of the federation would have no basis from which to bargain for continuing support.

Of course, the leaders of the federation have expressed no particular interest in permanent association with the United States. The challenge that they face is to realistically access the options open to them, set realistic development goals, and organize and direct their energies and resources to the attainment of these goals.

The present leaders have been effective spokesmen for their people and capable legislators, in the context of a United States dependency. They are now called upon for leadership of a different order.

Can leaders nourished in a political culture that emphasized harmony, consensus, conflict avoidance, and deference provide the positive leadership, the organization and discipline needed to cope with new and unprecedented problems? Can they persuade a people nourished in this same tradition and grown accustomed to a state of economic dependency to accept austerity and sacrifice in the interest of greater control over their own destiny? Will there be purposeful leadership over the affairs of Micronesia or will events be allowed to run their own course?

These questions are equally applicable to all of the new governments in Micronesia, but they apply with particular urgency to the Federated States. For the Federated States of Micronesia, the element of time is a more pressing concern. For the student of political development, these new entities will offer a rich field for comparative study as they come to grips with these unprecedented new challenges.

1978

POLITICAL ATTITUDE SURVEY

TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

AND

THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE NORTHERN MARIANA ISLANDS

PART I PERSONAL DATA

Id No._____

1.(a) Date of birth_____ (b) Place of birth_____ 2. Sex ___ ___
M F

3. Check whether Married___ or Single___ 4. Residence _____
(village or municipal district no.)

5. Ancestry _____
(Chamorro, Ponopean, Japanese, etc, -include all)

6. (a) Spouses place of birth_____ (b) Spouses Ancestry _____

7. (a) Father's birthplace_____ (b) Father's native language_____

8. (a) Mother's birthplace _____ (b) Mother's native language_____

9. Schools you attended (names and locations):

(a) Primary_____

(b) Middle or Jr. High_____

(c) Senior High _____

(d) College or University _____

(e) Trade, Technical, Commercial_____

(f) Highest grade completed_____ (g) Degrees or Diplomas_____

10.(a) Present job title _____ (b) Years on job_____

11.(a) Other jobs held _____ (b) Total years worked____

12.Citizenship (check): (a) Trust Territory____ (b) Northern Mariana Islands _____

(c) United States____ (d) other (name)_____

13. Permanent resident of this island? _____ _____ 14. Did you move here from
(yes) (no)

another district of the Trust Territory? _____ _____ 15, If yes, when?_____
(yes) (no)

16. Have you ever voted as an absentee voter in another district? _____ _____
(yes) (no)

17. If yes, when did you last vote by absentee ballot (year) ? _____

18. Have you ever been told you were ineligible to vote by election officials? _____ _____
(yes) (no)

19. If yes, for what reason?_____

Id No._____

20. On each of lines (a), (b) and (c) check the item which best describes your voting behavior, since you first became eligible to vote.

Elections to:	Elections voted in: All	More than half	Half	Less than half	None
(a) District Legislature	____	____	____	____	____
(b) Congress of Micronesia	____	____	____	____	____
(c) Municipal Council/Mayor	____	____	____	____	____

21. Check any of the following activities that you have engaged in, at any time:

(a) Run for political office._____

(b) Tried to win nomination for political office._____

(c) Held elective political office._____

(d) Held office in a political party or other political organization (chairman, secretary, treasurer, etc.) _____

(e) Worked in a political campaign on behalf of a candidate or party._____

22. How often do you attend political campaign meetings in your village? (check)

a. Always	b. usually	c. half the time	d. not often	e. never
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

23. Do you listen to political speeches or debates on the radio or television? (check)

a. Whenever possible	b. usually	c. half the time	d. not often	e. never
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

24. Do you read news of Trust Territory and local government and politics in the Pacific Daily News or your local newspapers? (check)

a. every day	b. usually	c. half the time	d. not often	e. never
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

PART IB MARIANA SUPPLEMENT

Id No._____

1. In what year did you first vote in the Mariana Islands elections?_____

2. In what year did you last vote in the Mariana Islands?_____

3. Did you vote in the recent election for Governor and other officers of the Commonwealth? _____ (yes) _____ (no)

4. If yes, how did you vote? (check)	Democratic	Territorial
For Governor	_____	_____
For Washington Representative	_____	_____
For Senator	_____	_____
For Representative	_____	_____
For Mayor	_____	_____

5. Check the item which best describes your voting behavior, with respect to the two political parties in the Mariana Islands.

Voted Territorial:				Voted Popular/Democratic		
Always	Almost Always	More Than Popular	One as often as the other	Always	Almost Always	More than Territorial
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

In the following items, rate the importance of different factors to your vote, between two candidates for the same office:

	The most important	very important	important	not very important	not at all important
6. The candidate's party	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
7. The difference, when one is Chamorro, the other Carolinian.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
8. The relationship, when one is a brother, the other unrelated.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
9. The relationship, when one is a first cousin, the other unrelated.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
10. The difference, when one is a woman, the other a man.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
11. The difference, when one is 25 years old, the other 35 years.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

PART II POLITICAL ATTITUDE SURVEY

Answers to the questions on this part are to be made on a separate answer sheet. For each question, there will be a choice of five answers. These answers will be listed as answers (a), (b), (c), (d), and (e). These same letters will appear in columns on the separate answer sheet, beside numbered items corresponding to the questions.

For each question, find the item number on the answer sheet that corresponds to the number of the question. Fill in the space between the lines in the column under the letter which corresponds to the letter of your chosen answer. For example, items one and two will appear on your answer sheet as follows:

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
1.	||	||	▮	||	||
2.	||	▮	||	||	||

If you had chosen answer (c) to item 1 and answer (b) to item 2; you would black in the space under (c) opposite number 1 and the space under (b) opposite number 2, as was done in the above example.

Items 1 to 5 are descriptions of several possible political statuses for Micronesia. For each one of these 5, indicate your order of choice, as follows.

	First choice	Second choice	Third choice	Fourth choice	Last choice
Check on answer sheet	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)

1. A part of a state or a territory of the United States, with United States citizenship for the people and with all of the rights and obligations of such citizenship. The United States Congress could legislate for the territory and would give financial support as for any of the subdivisions of the United States.

2. An internally self governing commonwealth in permanent political association with the United States. Defense and foreign affairs would be responsibilities of the United States. Federal laws would not generally apply, except as agreed on in the compact with the United States establishing the commonwealth. The people would be United States citizens and continued United States financial support would be guaranteed.

3. An internally self governing state, associated with the United States for an agreed period of time, after which either side would have the right to end the association. The people would have the right to freely enter the United States and could become citizens by fulfilling residence requirements in the United States. In return for financial support the United States would have the right to establish military bases in agreed areas and would be responsible for defense and foreign affairs. United States financial support would be guaranteed only for the period the agreement was in force.

4. An independent, self governing state, with financial support guaranteed only for a limited period of transition from trusteeship to independence.

5. A continuation of the present trusteeship until the people are in a better position, economically and educationally, to make a choice.

Items 6 to 10 are descriptions of possible forms of association between the many island groups that make up the present Trust Territory. For each of these, indicate your order of choice, as follows.

	First choice	Second choice	Third choice	Fourth choice	Last choice
Check on answer sheet	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)

6. A government structure very much like the present Trust Territory, but in Micronesian hands. The principal law making and taxing authority would be in the hands of an elected Congress of Micronesia. Subdivisions like the present districts would also have legislatures with limited law making and taxing authority, as at present, and an elected chief executive. Where population and other circumstances justified it, there would be subdistricts and municipalities with elected councils and magistrates.

7. A federal government structure, where powers would be divided between the central and district, or state, governments. Each level of government (federal and state) would have some exclusive powers . For example, the federal government would control interstate and foreign commerce, while the state government would have responsibility for education, police protection and public health. There would be shared powers; for example, both levels would have the power to tax and appropriate money. Where laws came into conflict, the federal law would be supreme. The states could charter local governments, as they saw the need.

8. An association of states, in which the primary law making and taxing authority would belong in the state governments. The central government would have only those powers specifically delegated to it by the states and would operate on contributions voted by the member states. There would be a one house legislature for the central government, in which all states, regardless of size, would have equal representation. The constitutions of the states would be a matter for each state to decide for itself.

9. Separate self governing states, corresponding to the present districts, which would set up a special interstate organization to handle common concerns, such as providing a common transportation and communication system and a common effort to promote trade and commerce.

10. Separate independent states, with no permanent organization to unite them.

All of the remaining items are statements of opinion. Indicate the extent of your agreement or disagreement with these statements by checking items (a) through (e) on your separate answer sheet, as follows.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Dont Know/ No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Check on answer sheet	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)

11. If land is needed for a public purpose, such as a school, a road or a hospital, the government should have the right to make the owner sell the property at a fair price.

12. The government should encourage Americans, Japanese and other outside interests to invest money in Micronesia.

13. All employers in Micronesia, both government and private, should be required to pay a minimum wage of at least $1.00 per hour.

14. The United States has been concerned only about it military and other interests in Micronesia, not about the people of the islands.

15. Slot machines and other forms of gambling should be allowed in the new hotels to attract tourists and to provide a new source of taxes for the government.

16. Government employees should have the right to strike as a means of fighting for higher wages and better working conditions.

17. In areas where the government provides water and power, every household should pay the full cost of all water and electricity it uses.

18. The sale or use of marijuana should be treated as a crime, punishable by a fine or jail sentence.

19. A military base on any island will create more problems than benefits for the people concerned.

20. Most Americans who have been employed to work in the Trust Territory have shown little understanding of the people or of their cultures.

21. Unless he is unable to do so because of low income or unemployment, every person should pay the cost of all medical care he receives.

22. It is the responsibility of the government to insure that every adult man and woman, who wants to work, has a job.

23. On the whole, the United States has done a pretty good job in educating the people of Micronesia and preparing them for self government.

24. It is the responsibility of government to insure that every family has adequate housing.

25. Most of the Americans who have worked in the Trust Territory have had no interest in associating with the local people.

26. Except for basic English skills and mathematics, most of the subjects taught in the schools have had little relationship to the needs of island people.

27. The people of Micronesia were better off under the Japanese administration than they are under the American administration.

28. United States policies in Micronesia were designed to make the people dependent, so that they would have no choice but to vote to stay with the United States.

29. Most of the elected members of the Congress of Micronesia are sincerely interested in serving the people to the best of their abilities.

30. It is the responsibility of the government to insure that every person has adequate health care.

31. The members of the Peace Corps in Micronesia have been better representatives of the United States than have the Americans working in the administration as regular employees.

32. Our schools should provide more training in job skills, such as those in mechanical, agricultural and building trades and not so much in college preparatory subjects.

33. Only Trust Territory citizens should be permitted to own land in Micronesia.

34. Most of the Micronesians who have been selected as department heads and district administrators and other high positions in government are well trained and qualified for those positions.

35. Members of the district legislatures represent their people's interests better than do the members of the Congress of Micronesia.

In order to make it possible for Micronesia to become self supporting and thus more independent of the United States, I would favor the following (items 36 to 42):

36. Keeping government wages at their present levels, possibly even reducing wages at the higher grade levels.

37. Gradually reducing the number of government employees; not replacing those who leave, cutting out many of the less important government activities, etc.

38. Requiring the people to pay more of the cost of government services, such as health care, electrical power and water.

39. Encouraging foreign investment to provide more jobs in the private economy.

40. Taxing imports more heavily, especially luxuries and things that can be made or grown locally.

41. Giving all possible help to local agriculture, fishing and small industries.

42. Government programs to educate the public to buy and use locally produced foods, rather than imported foods.

43. Most Americans who have worked in the Trust Territory government have not been very well qualified for their jobs.

44. Too often, in their attitudes and conduct, the Peace Corps volunteers have been bad examples for the young people of Micronesia.

45. Most Americans who have worked in the Trust Territory government have been more interested in hanging on to their jobs than in helping the people.

46. Once they are elected most of our political leaders forget about the people who put them in office and their needs and problems.

47. People in government, both elected and appointed, are concerned mostly with their own interests, not with serving the people.

48. Most Peace Corps volunteers have been too young and inexperienced to be of much help to the Micronesian people.

49. The right to vote makes it possible for the people to influence the decisions of government.

50. When the people are interested and active in government, their leaders will be interested in serving them.

In order to preserve the natural beauty of the islands, the purity of the water and air and to preserve the plant and animal life in the lagoons and the surrounding sea; the government should have the authority to do the following things (items 51-54):

51. Tell private land owners that they may not use their land for business and industrial purposes, unless it is in certain areas reserved for such use.

52. Say that land in certain areas may be used only for private, single family homes; others only for farming; others only for parks and recreation areas, etc.

53. Keep out business and industry which the government believes may have harmful effects; such as discharging harmful substances into the air and water, creating too much noise or overcrowding, or conflict with the government's land use plan.

54. Impose fines for littering the roads, parks and beaches; creating excessive noise; or for dynamiting or dumping clorax or other harmful substances into the water.

55. It is time for the people to quit thinking of themselves only as Marshallese, Kosraens, Ponopeans, Trukese, Yapese, Palauans, etc. and think of themselves also as citizens of a unified Micronesia.

56. The common interests of the people as Micronesians are more important than their special interests as members of their individual districts and islands.

57. The islands outside of the district centers have never gotten their fair share of government money and services.

58. The personal character and ability of a candidate for a seat in the legislature is more important than the amount of education he has had.

59. The people of Micronesia are being pushed into a decision on their future political status before they are really prepared to make a choice.

60. As long as the islands of Micronesia are politically associated with the United States it doesnt really matter whether they are self supporting or not.

61. Outside businesses, such as stores and hotels, should not be permitted to come in and compete with local businesses.

62. There will always be considerable numbers of people in Micronesia who will live mostly on what they can grow and catch from the sea, with very little need for cash income.

63. People working in the administration in the district centers care very little about the people living in the islands away from the district center.

64. The best government for Micronesia would be one in which responsibility for government services and the money to support these services was given to the local community (the municipality).

65. The people of Micronesia had more real voice in decisions under their chiefs in the old system than they do under the new system of elected officials.

66. For the first three or four years of schooling, a child should receive his instruction in the local language, rather than in English.

67. Regardless of need, no government should be able to make land owners sell their land.

68. For many years to come, the role of women in Micronesia will be controlled by custom, not by law or by pressure from women's liberation groups.

69. When they achieve self government, the majority of people in Micronesia will be able to enjoy a higher standard of living than they have enjoyed under the American administation.

70. The old system of authority in Micronesia, with family heads and chiefs, does not give enough freedom and independence to the individual.

71. The system of government in which the number of representatives is based on population, is unfair to the outer islands, such as the Mortlocks in Truk and Peleliu in Palau.

72. The people of Micronesia have become too dependent on large grants from the United States to ever have any real choice about whether they wish to associate with the United States.

73. The best accomplishment of the United States in Micronesia has been the introduction of a democratic system of government through elected representatives.

74. The proposal by the Marshallese in Congress, that half of the money raised through the income tax should be returned to the district in which it was raised for appropriation by the district legislature, was a fair and reasonable proposal.

75. One of the greatest needs in Micronesia is the need to restore the respect of young people for their parents and for other older people as it existed under the old social system.

76. The people would be better off if the sale of liquor, beer and wine were prohibited by law.

77. As long as the trusteeship or political association with the United States lasts, the representatives of the people should try to get as much support from the United States for the operation of the government as possible.

78. The system of land ownership by families, clans or kin groups, rather than by individuals, should be preserved in Micronesia, wherever it still exists.

79. The constitution makers in Micronesia should provide some formal role for the traditional chiefs in the new government, such as a House of Chiefs in the legislature.

80. By reducing the cost of government and by pushing economic development, it should be possible for Micronesia to become self supporting in 10 to 15 years.

81. Whether we like it or not, the old Micronesian social system is bound to fade away as economic and political development continues.

82. The benefits to Palau of the proposed "superport" will be well worth the risk of environmental damage that might result.

83. A Micronesian working in the same job as an American should be paid the same wage.

PART IIB MARIANA SUPPLEMENT

Answers to the questions on this part are to be made on a separate answer sheet. For each question, there will be a choice of five answers. These answers will be listed as answers (a),(b), (c), (d), and (e). These same letters will appear in columns on the separate answer sheet, beside numbered items corresponding to the questions.

For each question, find the item number on the answer sheet that corresponds to the number of the question. Fill in the space between the lines in the column under the letter which corresponds to the letter of your chosen answer. For example, items one and two will appear on your answer sheet as follows:

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
1.	||	||	▓	||	||
2.	||	▓	||	||	||

If you had chosen answer (c) to item 1 and answer (b) to item 2; you would black in the space under (c) opposite number 1 and the space under (b) opposite number 2, as was done in the above example.

The following statement is the subject of questions 1 to 7.

Suppose that two candidates are seeking the nomination of your party for a seat in the legislature. You know both candidates but neither is a close friend or relative. Both have pleasant personalities and make a nice appearance.

A. Candidate A finished high school and worked for the administration for 10 years. His only education beyond high school consists of three or four in-service management training courses of one week, each. While working in the administration, he served four years in the Municipal Council. For the last four years, he has been a full time member of the Marianas legislature. He can speak and write clearly in English, but makes some mistakes in grammar and word usage. He is now 35 years old.

B. Candidate B has just completed a BA degree from a very good university in California, with a major in political science. He worked one year as an elementary teacher before college, but has had no other work experience. He was a good student. His spoken and written English are very good. He is 25 years old.

For questions 1 to 7 the choice of answers is as follows:

	I would prefer candidate A:		Either one / no	I would prefer candidate B:	
	Yes	Maybe	preference	Maybe	Yes
Check on answer sht:	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)

1. On the basis of the above facts, which of these candidates would you prefer?

2. Given the same facts, which would you prefer if A were running as a Territorial and B as a Democrat?

3. Which would you prefer if A were a Democrat and B a Territorial?

4. Which would you prefer if both were of your party, but A were a man and B a woman?

5. Which would you prefer if all of the facts were as stated above, but A were a woman and B were a man?

6. Which would you prefer if both were men, but A were a Chamorro and B were a Carolinian?

7. Which would you prefer, if A were a Carolinian and B were a Chamorro?

All of the remaining items are statements of opinion. Indicate the extent of your agreement or disagreement with these statements by checking items (a) through (e) on your separate answer sheet, as follows.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Dont Know/ No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Check on answer sheet	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)

8. There is little or no difference between the Democratic and Territorial parties, today.

9. Voters should vote for the best candidate, not for the party.

10. The Territorial Party protects the interests of the Carolinians better than does the Democratic Party.

11. On the whole, the Democratic Party offers the voters better qualified candidates than does the Territorial Party.

12. It is time for the people to quit thinking of themselves so much as Carolinians, Chamorros, etc. and think of themselves as citizens of the Northern Marianas.

13. It is not right for people from the United States, like Mike White, to be able to run for office in the Northern Marianas at this time.

14. The Democratic Party represents the poor people, the Territorial Party represents the rich.

15. The Territorial Party protects the interests of the people of Rota and Tinian better than does the Democratic Party.

16. The government should encourage Americans, Japanese and other outside investors to invest their money in the Northern Marianas.

17. Employers in the Northern Marianas should be required to pay the same minimum wage that employers in the United States must pay.

18. Voters in the Northern Marianas put too much importance on a candidate's family in deciding who to vote for.

19. The Territorial Party cares more about protecting business leaders, like Joe Ten, from competition than it does about protecting the people from high food prices.

20. In the past, the islands of Rota and Tinian have not gotten their fair share of government money and services.

21. The people of Tinian will be better off without a military base on their island.

22. It would have been better for the Marianas to remain in a United Micronesia, if the other island groups had been willing to join us in a permanent association with the United States.

23. Only Chamorros and Carolinians native to the Northern Marianas should be permitted to buy land in the Northern Marianas.

24. Most of the citizens of the Northern Marianas who hold high positions in the Commonwealth government are well trained and qualified for their positions.

25. Most of the elected political leaders in the Commonwealth are sincerely interested in serving the people to the best of their ability.

26. The people of the Northern Marianas were rushed into the new Commonwealth before they were prepared to deal with the problems it will bring.

27. As long as the Northern Marianas is associated with the United States, it doesn't really matter whether the Commonwealth is self supporting or not.

28. Under the Commonwealth, the people of the Northern Marianas can expect to enjoy a higher standard of living than they have ever known before.

29. Most of the people working in the Commonwealth government care little for the people living in the other islands, away from Saipan.

30. The two house system of representation adopted in the Northern Marianas, with three senators each from Rota, Tinian and Saipan, gives too much power to the smaller islands, which have only a small percentage of the total population.

31. The administration of government services in th municipalities of Rota, Tinian and Saipan should be under the control of the elected mayors rather than the appointed representatives of the governor.

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